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THE HISTORY AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHANALYSIS

BY

POUL BJERRE, M.D.

Authorized Translation by
ELIZABETH N. BARROW

REVISED EDITION

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SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
71

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INTRODUCTION

SEVEN years ago when this book was written, it already seemed to me that its subject matter belonged to history and now the theories of Freud and Adler appear almost as antiquated as those of Feuchtersleben and Liébault. It was not however because of this historical interest that the book came into being. The present and the future always engross me sufficiently to absorb all my attention. But when I took over Wetterstrand's practice as a specialist in psychotherapy in Stockholm, I quickly discovered that I could not keep on where he had left off. Even more impossible did I find it to feel at home in the new systems and methods of treatment that had grown up and begun to control psychotherapeutic thought. In trying to follow any one of the leaders in psychic treatment, I found my results poor. On the other hand, when I examined each case individually, following only the suggestions which just that case alone presented, my progress was satisfactory. Finally as practical experience accumulated, I found I must try to make it conform to the new theoretical trends of thought.

But science is not made up of the experiences and thoughts of solitary investigators. Science is the common spiritual structure of humanity, to which each one must contribute his forces where they are best adapted. It is therefore applicable that each discussion begin with an historical introduction, which step by step leads up to the point where the new effort to solve the problem sets in. When I tried to present my experience in one complete volume, I was forced, in spite of myself, to first look over the ground on which psychotherapy had been built up.

This work grew into a volume by itself.

In the history of medicine there is something called odium medicum. Physicians have made a bad reputation for themselves by dividing into schools which have struggled so hotly against one another that for the struggle's sake they have lost sight of the common goal that stands above all strife—namely, the search for truth. The modern psychotherapeutists have far outstripped their colleagues in this respect. Added to this the older academic physicians have spared no pains in the attempt to throw suspicion on the whole psychotherapeutic movement. Consequently none has calmly considered the various contributions to this subject, with endeavor to separate the real and lasting from what is worthless and incidental. Being little interested in the

small controversies of the day, I have made attempt to take this task upon myself. Instead of keeping to the historical point of view exclusively, I tried to crystallize from it whatever was likely to attain real value when controversy was over. I kept to few names; originators are rare;—not so followers. History deals only with the former. Especially where Freud was concerned have I found it hard to draw the line between what is the out-crop of genius and what is absurdity. Some effort in this direction I made in a lecture delivered in Munich at the Psychological Congress, 1913. The gist of this lecture is here given under the caption, "The Conscious Versus the Unconscious." To illustrate how the different trends of thought actually assimilate in practice, I added my paper entitled "Extract from a Case History."

After the historical introduction, I took hold of something that more nearly appealed to me—namely the revision of the material gathered during practice, from that new standpoint at which I had arrived. First of all this meant attempt to give the enduring fundamental idea that firm and monumental form the idea must have, if from its height one is to survey anything so extensive as the phenomena of mental disease. I was confronted here with a task that was of a philosophical or purely religious nature, rather than a medical one.

One thing strikes one forcibly in modern psychotherapy. It investigates not alone as *science* the different forms in which spiritual decay comes to the surface in anxiety-states, insanity, etc.; but as therapy too, it attempts to help man overcome that spiritual death and reach harmonious security on the other side of it. It should then be clear that its whole activity circles about the idea of spiritual death; but what strikes one is that instead of dominating the scientific literature, this idea has disappeared from it. This is the more surprising since every unprejudiced observer must at once be aware of this inner struggle between life and death, as soon as he comes into contact with this class of patients. It may be reflected in different ways, but putting aside contingent details, the same essentials are always met with. As a rule, too, it is the more obvious because most patients come for treatment just when they are on the point of succumbing to life's negative forces.

Unless viewed in connection with the time during which psychotherapy originated, it is hard to understand this peculiarity. It was the materialism of that time, placing its stamp here, as well as upon science and art in general, upon the social structure,—indeed upon everything. This fact is singularly grave, because it should be the special duty of psychotherapy to be a powerful means of fight-

ing materialism;—it teaches exactly that—how hopeless it is to try to overcome spiritual death in material ways and by material means.

When, therefore, one feels driven to again take up the time-honored problem of spiritual death for renewed examination, it is necessary to guard against one danger. This very problem was what formerly gave rise to the different forms of religion, the decay of which our day has witnessed. Habits of thought, symbols, phraseology and dogma in which religion was clad, still have great influence over us. We have a natural tendency to slip into old religious ways of speaking and of clinging to its distinctions. But surely this means that by creating anew we shall get beyond what has been, to a new formulation of the old problem, with new distinctions, which can become a guiding force for the future. Science must not be forced back into primitive forms of the spiritual life; on the contrary science must be lifted to a higher plane, that it may grapple with the highest manifest forms of existence, precisely as it took hold of the material world during the past century. Out of inner force it must reach final clearness.

But this task of drawing a line between life and death in the spiritual meaning from the fully up-to-date standpoint, has grown into a book by itself. It bears the name "DEATH AND REGENERA-

TION" and comprises three volumes, of which the first has just been published. In a series of concentrated aphoristical chapters, I try to make clear the two fundamental phenomena of spiritual death —disintegration and mechanization. I characterize the different human types from these standpoints. In another series of chapters, which I have called "Sacrifice and Atonement," I try to show how spiritual death may be overcome. The second volume of this work will treat of the social structure and the third of the last great question of our existence.

Only from the other side of the viewpoint thus won and from the help thus attained, does it seem possible to me to straighten out the numberless detailed problems of nervous disease. The work in which I hope to point the way to this and to which these three volumes also are a kind of introduction, will be entitled "FROM PSYCHOANALYSIS TO PSYCHOSYNTHESIS." With this title I shall have said in advance that the analytical side of the matter is not, to my mind, the most important. Of far greater import is it to obtain clear understanding of those forces, due to which man may be built up into a united, harmonious being, bearing witness of the divineness of his inmost nature.

Poul Bjerre.

Vårstavi, Tumba, Jan., 1920.

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THE HISTORY AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHANALYSIS

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THE HISTORY AND PRACTICE OF PSYCHANALYSIS

I

KANT AND FEUCHTERSLEBEN

KANT suffered from gout.

When such an actual illness comes into human life, it means not only the suffering, the lessened power for work, the sleepless nights, the hopelessness, but the evil of it spreads to the environment of the victim as well, and this too is gradually submerged beneath an inexorable burden of fatality. Beyond this the illness has also a negative action, outside its immediate boundaries; it endeavors to force the entire life of its victim into its power. And in this lies its more horrifying significance. Instead of being able as hitherto, to direct oneself towards some positive goal, one now before all things, must have the negative purpose in view of becoming free from suffering. Before the occurrence of such a misfortune, the victim had been able to turn his activities towards his real desires; now all these must be

set aside in order to concentrate his effort towards ridding himself of the guest that comes thus unbidden. The banal man becomes, in such circumstances, a victim of experimental science, dividing his time between the trial of new methods of treatment and complaint concerning the inability of these to give him the desired help. He looks continually for that marvel which is to bring him salvation. And the more the illness establishes itself as an incurable one, just so much the more inextricably bound up in it, becomes the environment of the invalid.

But for one who is wise, each new fact becomes a spur to renewed reflection and before each new perception, no matter how painful, such a one stops to ask if there is not something to gain from it, something to add to his store of knowledge. If he is successful, then a re-valuation occurs; even out of the seemingly most negative condition there radiates something of the imperishableness of life. And all that surrounds him takes its part in this.

When Hufeland wrote his book on the art of prolonging life, he sent it to Kant as a "token of that appreciation which every thinking human being owes to this wise man;" and also "to cause him to consider some ideas therein set forth, which belong to the philosophical tribune." Kant replied with a little pamphlet which he called: "The Power of the Mind, Through Simple Determination, to become Master

over Morbid Ideas." And in this he devotes one page to the subject of his gout.

He relates:

In order that my sleep should not be interfered with, I at once seized upon my stoical remedy, that of directing with effort, my thoughts towards some chosen indifferent object, for example, towards the many associated ideas brought up by the word Cicero. In this way I led my attention away from every other idea. Thus these became quickly blunted. so that sleepiness could overcome them. And this I am always able to repeat in attacks of this kind with a like good result. That I had not dealt with imaginary pain was clearly evident the following morning when I found the toes of my left foot swollen and red.

His attacks of gout thus became for Kant a source of inner investigation and from this source issued a new stream of wisdom. Nevertheless of any positive signification regarding this illness, no thinker of his time got an intimation; it spread itself far through the time to come, to future generations. I think one may say that no book has had so strong an influence upon the development of psychotherapy as have these few simple pages, acting, as they have done, as an inspiration for many others who since have taken up these studies. I have recently read a paper by one of our most modern writers, in which

he says, that when questioned by patients as to what they ought to read, he answers: Kant and Feuchtersleben.

Wherein then lies what is most essential in these experiences of Kant?

First the title given to his book "The Power of the Mind, Through Simple Determination, to Become Master over Morbid Ideas." There exists in other words, the possibility of causing changes in morbid processes, through psychic means. Upon the unshakableness of this fact all psychotherapy finally depends. And Kant succeeded in driving home this fact for himself with singular surety. Philosophers of a whole century have in vain racked their brains to disprove him on other points. I suspect that all efforts to prove him false on this question will also necessarily come to naught. For Kant has not advanced this as a theory and it has therefore no part in the transitoriness that is inherent in all theories. Neither did it come about through the casual observation of an objective occurrence. Those who have been brought up to believe in the prevailing dogma that objective study of material phenomena is the only thing that gives us real knowledge, automatically oppose themselves to everything which implies a glimmer of effort toward a trial to reduce the security upon which such science is founded. But it is all too easy to forget that all objective research is based finally upon our men-

tal impressions and that some certain amount of illusion always remains bound up with these. Partly because they never can be trained to an absolute degree of sharpness; partly and above all, because they never can be wholly isolated from physical occurrences. No matter how conscientious an investigator may be, he never can quite free himself from seeing that which he wishes to see more clearly than that which he does not wish to see. This is one reason for the gross mistakes made by science, which have won admittance to the general consciousness.

The only thing about which we really know something with certainty, is that which we experience in our inner lives. This is true more especially if these experiences are of such vital importance that they take their place as integral constituents in our thought and volitional life. So Kant's fixation of the fundamental fact of psychotherapy occurred as an inner experience. It might have been possible to convince him that the opinion of humanity concerning the solar system was faulty: a new cosmic genius might change the prevailing conception regarding that, just as Copernicus changed the opinion of his time. But no power on earth could have disturbed Kant's opinion regarding the functioning of his organism, which had been formed in connection with his experience as above cited. These closely observed inner experiences go to the kernel of that which is out of our reach by any other path. Knowl-

edge gained in this way is established unchangeably for the coming centuries, while numberless theories arise and burst like soap-bubbles, and while our conception of the whole world may change its form and color.

If this possibility of causing real changes through inner work did not exist in the whole of that sphere of phenomena which is gathered under the name of disease, the psychic treatment of disease would be nothing but an illusion. That which one believed to be happening would be only imagination, which soon would be put to flight before reality. It is the object of these studies to carry this fundamental fact farther along, to point out some ways in which changes may be brought about and to draw up the limits within which these are possible. I shall occupy myself exclusively with functional disturbances, leaving organic diseases to the various branches of medicine to which they belong.

That vulgarizing of psychotherapy which goes under the name of Christian Science, makes an effort to maintain that by looking away from illness, denial of its real existence, the physical destructive processes may be removed. It postulates a universal harmony; if the one who is ill succeeds in becoming absorbed in this idea, the disturbance of the harmony which we call disease, also disappears. I mention this in passing for it has its interest in showing how thought of the possibility of removing physical suf-

fering by means of psychic treatment which had its beginning in Kant, has since continually been verified anew by those who have interested themselves in the subject. Speaking further of his gout, Kant said: "I am sure that many gouty troubles, yes, cramps and even epileptic attacks, also podogra, which is described as incurable, can be warded off by a firm determination to distract the attention from them, *and little by little they may even be got rid of.*" When the Christian Scientist overcomes his pain by reading the effusions of his prophetess, these have for him the same meaning which the word Cicero had for Kant,—it implies in both cases the diversion of the attention by the use of something with no especial meaning, but which will awaken many associated ideas. This is so clear that no further comment is necessary.

Kant's psychological dietetic prescription has a kind of simplicity which really is monumental but which unfortunately is of little use in the complicated conflicts of people of our own times.

Seen from a psychological point of view it was a tension of the will many times emphasized, through which the attention, by main force, was compelled to take a new direction. It is interesting to note that Liébeault's working out of the idea of suggestion, half a century later, was founded on just the same basis. Explained in Liébeault's terminology, Kant suggested loss of feeling to himself. As

I shall more closely point out in discussing the Nancy School, Liébeault even made of the attention, a kind of creative power, existing within the organism. In this there is a valuable practical truth, even if it by no means exhausts the psychology of the mechanism of suggestion. It is unfortunate that strong-willed concentration of the attention has been made more difficult little by little, as the power of attention has been broken up by the widespread idea-material, which development on all sides, carries with it. It was undoubtedly easier for him who never saw anything but Königsberg to concentrate his mind upon a single point, than it is for one whose consciousness is divided into the millions of shifting scenes and impressions gathered from one of our great modern cities.

Looking at the more philosophical side of Kant's prescription, one sees it stamped with a stoicism which one can scarcely read of without envying this concentrated power of a by-gone type of humanity. Kant relates, for example, how once he was troubled with cold in the head and cough, and that this disturbance was the more unpleasant because it started up in the night and prevented him from sleeping. He was "indignant" at being disturbed in his philosophical existence by a thing so paltry, just as someone else might be annoyed at being kept awake by a screaming child. Kant decided to force himself to breathe through the nose. In this way he taught

himself to suppress the irritation of the cough and shortly it no longer had power to prevent him from going quickly to sleep.

The individual must not permit himself to be imposed upon by any physical condition which attempts to disturb his poise,—that is Kant's chief point.

This stoicism celebrates its greatest triumph when that which encroaches upon the well-being of the individual is of a kind which, according to the law of nature, cannot be changed; in other words, when it is inherent in the constitution itself. That which Kant, in this respect, had most difficulty in reconciling himself to, was his sunken chest. It was a fact that there was insufficient room for free action of the heart and lungs; he describes how this predestined him to hypochrondria, from which in his youth he suffered almost to the point of a loathing for life. But little by little it became clear to him that nothing could be done to change this and he taught himself to be "calm and clear in the head" although he was "oppressed in the chest." So gradually he became master of this oppression "by leading away the attention from it as if it were no concern of his."

This is an important point.

The whole position of man in the universe is such that he is continually under the influence of forces which act in opposition to the goal which he is striv-

ing to attain, and over which in accordance to the law of nature he never can be master. These forces are, so to speak, a universally present opposition to the realization of the deepest desire of mankind,—that of constituting the personality as a self-determinate being. Life in the body itself is one such opposition, continually limiting free movement even in the strongest and soundest individual. Naturally the frailer the body, just so much the more limited is its freedom,—at least up to a certain degree.

This shows itself plainly in the useless struggle against unconquerable opposition which needlessly wears out the powers of so many nervous sufferers. Existence becomes a protest against forces before which one must always go under. There is but one thing to do, viz: to make peace with these forces under as favorable conditions as possible, if one would become emancipated from their influence. Only when one succeeds in doing this does the constant danger of loss of self-independence cease. Unfortunately it is much easier to preach such stoicism than to carry it out. A man like Kant who in calm and peace could sit in his study, laying stone upon stone to his thought structure, could do it. But the sufferer of today who is torn between innumerable different occupations, and who at the same time must stretch his strength to the utmost in order to keep himself going at all, finds it is more difficult to adjust himself with courage and equanimity to the all

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too-cramped margin which nature has assigned for his powers.

The idea which Kant gave out in his reply to Hufeland's book, became incarnated in Ernst von Feuchtersleben.

Concerning the outward features of this man's life, I will mention here only that he practiced in Vienna from 1830-1840, and that his work is dedicated to those "who must fight the struggle of life and who take this to be a serious problem."

Feuchtersleben wished to found a general psychotherapy upon inner work directed by human wisdom. In his "Lehrbuch der ärtzlichen Seelenkunde," he does not connect himself with the history of medicine, but with that of philosophy. And he subsequently tries from this to extract everything that can lay down lines of direction for the attainment of a harmony against which suffering and sickness shall have no power. In this effort there is much of truth. All learned doctrines point finally towards the overcoming of inner death and towards the attainment of an everlasting harmony with existence in its entirety. It may be a question if the intellectual faculty of the mind itself, when this is not directed towards some outer practical aim, is not in its substance only one of nature's attempts to compensate the disturbed harmony between the human-being and the world;—in other words that nature in a round-about way would try to regain something which had become lost.

However that may be, it is certain that wisdom has its importance for everyone who has been forced out in the solitary struggle against spiritual death. But the history of philosophy is, unfortunately, not the history of wisdom; it is rather a pattern-book of human errors. However hard-pressed, little can be obtained from it that will serve as a draught of life-giving water to one who is parched with thirst. Had psychotherapy no other source to rely upon, then would it never have attained the right to exist. The condition of things between it and philosophy must rather be changed about. Psychotherapy must go its own road; the knowledge its users need, they must try to reach directly through the study of that which they experience among the sick. If it succeeds, little by little in coming upon more generally applicable rules for the breaking up of conflicts, freeing from anxiety, controlling disease, then it is possible that a truer doctrine of wisdom than that of the old philosophy can be built up upon this basis of experience, which concerns life and the perils of life.

What is of most interest about the works of Feuchtersleben is not, however, his attempt to found a new branch of therapy. It is the reflexions he makes concerning disease, with this attempt in mind. And these have greater value as they the more spontaneously, directly, spring from his own suffering. By far the best thing he wrote seems to me to be his diary. There may be found in short clear sentences,

most of what has value in all the popular literature concerning nervous diseases, which followed closely upon his work. And what is of far greater interest,—here are again found very many points which have become fundamental features in this branch of scientific research. Not that he had already solved problems which we are still puzzling over; but that he obtained with what was often remarkable intuition, an inkling concerning them.

If I should select a single quotation as an example of this, I think it would be the following:

Those things which we do physically in order to exist,—assimilate and secrete, inhale and exhale, we must spiritually repeat. A systole and diastole, an exchange between expansion and contraction must constitute our inner life, if it is to remain sound. Just as we keep on developing, learning, enjoying, emerging out of ourselves, just so we are forced into ourselves again by the unbroken pulse-beat of fate, and compelled to gather all our powers at one single point, so that from this point we may again send them forth more widely. He who is always elastic is free; he who continually draws himself together, petrifies.

As I shall more closely write out the subject in the following studies, all nervous ailments are connected in a more or less certain way, with the fact that the individual's ability to adapt himself to reality has been lost. Since this then has two sides, an outer and an inner, there are two main roads upon

which the individual departs from a normal state of life, and enters upon one of disease. In connection with this it is possible to differentiate two fundamental types among the sick. One consists of those who have lost connection with external reality. All that which takes place about this type loses its personal value. The doings of humanity and its desires, are only a meaningless jumble, a chaotic, tormenting noise; to be dragged into this whirl would be, for those of this type, to go under entirely. These people retire into themselves. They become reserved almost to a state of dumbness; nobody comprehends them. Because of this very fact they petrify more and more, growing continually more and more incomprehensible. Gradually as the emotional life loses its plasticity and the feelings and impulses let go their faculty of transformation, the actual restrictive faculty takes the reins in hand. The individual becomes more and more a creature of habit, of compulsory ideas, of hypochondriacal physical sensations, etc. The more line is run out, just so much more stereotyped and automatic does life become.

The normal psychic life, to which the formation of an illness of this sort, under unfortunate circumstances is attached, is founded in introspective natures, in contemplative minds, in musers.

The other fundamental type consists of those who have lost connection with what occurs within their own minds. They know of nothing other than the

world which stirs about them and their mental life is only a disconnected reflection of all this endless display of forces. They are driven like rudderless ships upon a sea of contending desires. Their lives evaporate in activity which has no inner motive; in purposeless reactions against whatever occurs about them; in compromises; in every thinkable thing that is unreal. So they grow farther and farther away from that inner centralization that alone can give peace and health of mind. If this line of development is farther drawn out, the soul life is broken up into emotions, filled with anxiety; thoughts whirl about each other like grains of sand before the wind, and the will which should lead toward activity with a conscious purpose, is exhausted in impulses that work against one another and make the adoption of a deliberate aim impossible.

The normal analogy to this type is found in those shallow, busy human-beings, who never give themselves time for contemplation.

In the construction of all outgrowth of disease, there is something both of this process of petrification and of dissolution, everything corresponding to changes in varying reciprocal proportions.

Feuchtersleben understood that no one finds the way to true health of mind unless he knows how to dissolve these two fundamental parts into one organic unity. In this thing itself, this tearing apart of existence into an inner and an outer reality, lies

the seed for the building up of disease in both directions.

The only possible way of avoiding this consequence is never to lose contact with either the outer or the inner life, to continually maintain that both forms of life are simply different sides of the same unity of occurrence. "Only the spiritually strong, morally educated individual succeeds in preserving a certain inner quietude, which like the point of Archimedes, even in troublous times, still constitutes a place of retirement for the purpose of contemplation. Here is the true happiness of mankind."

It is this spiritual strength and culture in the noblest meaning of the word, which before everything else must be striven after. Let the storms of life rage how they will, let the individual be involved in conflict upon conflict, let him be dragged out into the mob which, with all its commonness, tries to tear him to pieces and kill every effort that brings him life; —he nevertheless will be able to maintain constantly a sacred depth within himself, whither he may withdraw in quietude and where, with eyes unclouded by hate or fear, he will be able with calmness to take note of his surroundings. Only in this way, even under the most adverse circumstances, can he maintain his connection with an inner reality, of which he himself is but a temporary appearance; only then is he proof against one principal form of psychic devastation.

What every doctor most earnestly strives after, or what should be the aim in all isolating treatments is just this, to bring the patient away from the whirl of external life back into inner reality.

But as strongly as Feuchtersleben points out the necessity of the contemplative life, just as strongly he tries to direct the patient toward the life of activity, and he by no means undervalues the importance of this as a means to freedom. "An able-bodied individual ought always to have an able-bodied work that demands the co-operation of all the forces. Life is only a more or less violent state of tension. All relaxation is sickness or death." It is just this living connection with what occurs about one, that is of importance. Activity absorbs energy, but it also gives it. All those impulses that it constantly carries with it, mean just so many new contributions to it. One with impaired energy can do without this still less than can one who is strong. There is nothing that Feuchtersleben so utterly scorns as the hypochondriac, who in his want of will, permits himself to be sucked down into brooding over his own condition. Not even in the deepest inner calm must the tension which during activity is used up in the outward struggle, be allowed to slip entirely. Contemplation must always maintain a certain stamp of innate activity, and only because of this, one runs no danger, even in its most profound moments, of gliding away from that form of reality

which is represented in those happenings of the outside world.

There are people who have fallen into such a state of inertia that they feel themselves incapable of the simplest kind of activity. However paradoxical it may seem, the only right method of treatment is often to compel them to do some work which to them appears impossible, the intention being to force them into that circulation of energy which the external life of activity implies. But if this is to succeed the work must not be without meaning, but must have a deep connection with those desires, because of which the individual may have fallen into his state of disability.

I have made these reflexions upon the foregoing citations from Feuchtersleben's work only to show how his words by themselves give rise to links of associations. If these have free development, they soon reach out to lines of thought and viewpoints, with which we come into constant contact during practice. In his words lay seeds which subsequently have burst forth with immense power for growth. He should be read slowly; the greatest charm in his works is simply the power of awakening thought. In this way it is profitable to stop to consider each and every sentence.

I give one more example.

In reading the following lines, one sees the great idea appearing for that which now goes under the

name of psychanalysis and has in this light, set its stamp upon modern therapeutics:—

If pain is coming upon you, or if it has already reached you, then consider that you do not annihilate it by turning from it. Look it steadily in the eyes as an object for your observation, until you clearly understand if you ought to leave it for what it is worth, or possibly keep it and use it. One must first become master over an object before he can disregard it. That which has in this way been put to one side, constantly forces itself upon one with rigorous defiance. Only the real light of day, by turning its full brightness upon them, conquers the ghosts of the night.

Psychanalysis is based upon the fundamental fact that the individual does not escape the life he must experience, by turning away from it. On the contrary it is in this way that he really becomes a prey to the forces of life. For with this effort to escape, all the trouble sinks into the unconscious, and continues therefrom to bind, obstruct, restrain. What makes this change fatal then, is that in the very moment we lose conscious contact with what we have experienced, we also lose our power over it; we are hounded by anxiety or stunned or driven on towards something we do not desire, without even a suspicion as to whence comes this new enemy which haunts, paralyzes and drives us away from our real selves. The psychoanalyst shows how to stop this flight and

look the enemy straight in the eyes; he urges a sounding of the depths through which the past may be revealed; he does it because at the same time, the individual control over the life-material expands. It is primarily in the strength of inner masterfulness that we can be successful in throwing off suffering, or in changing the values of life into others of standard worth. In all this I come back to the study of psychanalysis once more; one might say that this in its entirety is an exposition of the theme which is advanced in these quotations from Feuchtersleben.

But Feuchtersleben was not only a thinker, he was also a poet.

And it is in many respects an interesting and important fact, that psychotherapeutics had one of its deepest fundamental roots in the mind of a poet.

In the idea of a firm directing of the attention, which has several times been spoken of, there is already found an indication of productivity from the inner life. For through this a human being ceases to be simply the outcome of a series of external forces. There is put into motion something which has its central point within himself and which is anticipated by his existence as an independent being. The poet can never be a determinist. The moment an individual loses the feeling of being the ultimate conception for some work of creation which can not go on without him, that moment he ceases to be a poet. It is easy then to see the close connection

between poetry and psychotherapy. One might also say in the same connection: in that same moment, the individual also ceased to be well. The feeling of happiness, courage, confidence, hope,—— everything that must be found in the healthy psychic life is so closely bound up with the certain knowledge that creation is going on within, that the two things cannot really be separated.

Feuchtersleben understood this as only the born poet can understand it. And he understood in connection with it, how needful it is, that the psychotherapist should direct the patient towards this idea of creating,—towards a positive goal.

He writes:—

Only by putting something in the place of something else, does the former really become negative—a law which not only for the dietitian of the soul, but for all phases of life has most weighty consequences. Everything that is shallow, bad, false and ugly, will be actually denied, only when in its stead it put what is noble, good, true and beautiful. He who considers all these evils as something real and struggles against them, is lost. They must be treated as if they were nothing.

Only that which plays a rôle in the creating part of the upbuilding of human life is real. Because of this then the specific qualities of the poet are more essential for the development of health than are

those of the logician. "Knowledge does not have the power of instilling us with participation in life. Rather does it exhibit it to us in its nothingness. It is fantasy and feeling which awaken our interest in its fleeting appearances and through these give us happiness. Thus art is a more health-giving aim than philosophy." All the intimate connection between these things really lies in this sentence: "Keep yourself in contact with that which is beautiful. From the beautiful arises that which is good in mankind,—even health itself."

In order that the inner power of creation may be realized, there exists a demand that tendencies in this direction should not be met with unconquerable opposition. The awakening, releasing stream of thought and feeling must meet a certain plasticity of soul, due to which, that which already has existence becomes transformed and valued anew. If the inner life is petrified by lines of thought that have become habitual and if the feelings are undisturbedly fixed upon definite things and into definite forms, there is nothing to be done. If each new truth and every deepened understanding meets with that kind of skepticism which gives itself out to be ripe superiority, but which at closer range discloses itself as spiritual death, then the aim of the psychoanalyst becomes a vain one. It is the poet's privilege, more than that of any other, to maintain this mobility of soul. Each true poetical work contains a regenera-

tion, without which the work would be impossible to achieve,—its value for others is accounted in the same degree in which it implies something for them which it implied for the author. Psychotherapy must be considered as a form of poetry in which one is made free from all external technical methods, which otherwise act as intermediaries between that which happens within the poet and that which happens within those who follow him.

While speaking of Kant I pointed out the importance of his having reached knowledge of the simplest basic facts of psychotherapy, through self-observation; only in that way could it have been stamped with an unshakable surety. Something like this is always the case, when psychotherapy rises from its simplest, to its most complicated analytical-creating forms. In Kant's case, self-observation concerned sensations which followed a partly physical disturbance. With his successors who must more and more be drawn toward psychic suffering, this has dealt rather with the critical examination of what happens within the individual when the balances of life become disturbed. It is a common saying among psychoanalysts: no one can go farther in the analysis of another than he has gone in the analysis of himself. But the following correlation may be appended without hesitation; no one can go farther toward the redemption of another than he has gone

toward the redemption of himself. It is not enough for self-observation to pay attention only to the blasting of destructive powers: it must also and above all follow those lines upon which these are to be conquered and upon which one succeeds in making life worth living.

It is this idea which is the ultimate reason for that surety with which the psychotherapist defends his ground against all attacks. It is also this which makes this branch of therapeutics remain for so many a kind of mystery and which is the reason why attacks against it are, as a rule, stamped with a kind of stupidity, before which refutation seems of little use. Where inner qualifications for the understanding of such a conception are lacking, surely no description can make clear what it really means. One whose psychic life has been submerged in purely mechanical processes and who has thus changed into a conglomerate of automatic functional complexes, can scarcely acquire a comprehension of that process of inner emancipation, about which the whole science of psychanalysis revolves. For such a one all this remains the same meaningless nonsense, which higher mathematics means to one who has been unable to teach himself to add.

But although psychotherapy is in this way finally an inner experience, it is obvious that it is not that alone. It must also, as a foundation, have an ex-

ternal point of contact upon which medical science comes in as one of the many ingredients.

I come again to that circumstance upon which I wished to fix attention in this paper, namely, the deep import of the fact that the foremost thinker in history and one of its most renowned poets had a hand in the bringing to light of this branch of science.

It is the philosopher's task to draw out personal experiences into universal knowledge and in this way to find the connection between that which happens within and without us. One who has nothing of this philosophical spirit remains always shut within himself believing only that that which means good to him means good to others. But for no one is it so important as for the psychotherapist, to keep wide-open eyes for the finest nuances of individuality. He must himself be able to live in that which occurs in the psychic life of others, no matter how different it may be from that which happens within his own.

But this intimate connection with something foreign can never take place alone through knowledge and analysis. It needs besides this, something else, it needs a faculty for instinctively feeling a way into that which is not altogether comprehensible by thought. The real poet reacts with his oversensitivity to everything that comes in his way;—

with no fixed boundaries he lets himself float out into the world about him and identifies himself with whatever goes on there.

Without something of this faculty of the poet for taking part, with the whole of his personality, in all that lives and suffers—without this, no one is likely to spread a blessing upon the path of psychotherapy.

II

WETTERSTRAND AND THE NANCY SCHOOL

IN front of me lie some of Wetterstrand's letters written to various members of his family. They are yellow with age. I have selected one, dated from Uppsala, September 5th, 1866. He was then twenty-one years old and had been a medical student for four years. The letter was written to a younger brother:—

. . . Through a letter from father I have heard that you would like to change your determination about becoming *vitae genus*. Without wishing in any sense to impose anything upon you or your opinions, for in such matters as this you are, and should be, entirely alone regarding your decision, still I wish to say a few words to you, before you heedlessly start in upon a new track which is doubtless as yet quite unexplored by you. The profession of medicine is inexpressibly laborious, both during the period of preparation and throughout the whole life of practice. He who chooses this profession should first consider well. He has *dedicated the whole of his life, every minute of it*, to the struggle against human suffering in all of its forms, he has conse-

crated himself to an unceasing contemplation of lamentation, misery and death. Not only during the day, but during the night as well, must his work go on. In hospitals, in every kind of emergency, in pest-houses, the material for the building of his life is gathered together. If he desires—and that he must do,—to advance in science, he must study incessantly. He has no moment to himself. If he sometimes thinks: this hour is mine, he thinks what is not true; the time does not belong to himself, but to those who are in distress and suffering. The practice of this profession demands almost superhuman power. The physician must stand ready for everything and everybody. A constant danger threatens him, the sword of Damocles hangs continually over his head; I mean Death, the inevitable, with which he is always in contact. If one takes into consideration the years of preparation, those of the medical student are quite different from those of students in other fields. In the anatomy class, in the midst of decomposing, mutilated bodies, he has opportunities to think over the passing of life and the certainty of death. It is true that scientific desires are here appeased with knowledge concerning the wonders of the construction of the human organism and explanation of the mystery of the phenomena of life. But how is this insight reached? By means of mutilation of bodies like our own and by the dissection of living animals. This is the only path upon which the student of medicine may tread. I myself have experienced inexpressible things. The knife trembled in my hand when I made my first incision into a cadavar; how must it then be to use it upon a living subject? The loathsome smell of the

autopsy room, the ever constant danger of being poisoned in the laboratory, still pursue me. The state of mental tension, in which one must continually live, is impossible to describe.

It would be difficult to find a document that more plainly expresses the sensation of horror, which must present itself to every earnest young man, when the import of a doctor's life is put before him. The banal student puts aside this feeling as one of pure sentimentality and within a few days the whole thing becomes for him a profession, which moves him as little as any other. Death itself, for the most of such students, would become a matter of pure indifference, unless they were obliged to learn that they must not come unnecessarily into contact with it; otherwise their future reputation as its master would be in jeopardy. How often I have seen hospital students examining the dying with the same unconcern as if it were a question of putting a worn-out machine into repair! But the true physician never loses his sensitiveness for suffering and for him life never ceases to be a bitter combat with death. Just as the artist is over-sensitive to certain groups of impressions that continually stream over us all,—color, form, moods, conflicts,—so is the born physician over-sensitive to suffering. Out of this super-sensitiveness the intuitive "doctor's eye" proceeds. As a musician trembles in response to some tone

which passes by the unmusical ear as an indifferent sound, so the born physician perceives a physical or psychical dissonance, which the busy external life hides from others. Because of this faculty, suffering becomes so intimately connected with his own life that he really can make himself free from it just as little as he can separate himself from his own personality. Neither can he ever resign himself to suffering. He must make a struggle against it even if the effort seems a hopeless one. He must try to master it—or go under in the attempt. Or more aptly expressed he must dedicate his life to the removal of some small part of the most grievous difficulties that lie in the path of humanity and turn it toward the fulfillment of a more harmonious existence.

In looking back upon Wetterstrand's life, now since his death, the letter quoted seems full of a kind of fatality. . . . It is certain that he himself never had the feeling: "this hour belongs to me, now I shall enjoy it as if no trouble in the world were any concern of mine." During that period when he was at the height of his activity, he scarcely took time for sleep; from half-past five in the morning until far into the night, it was his one continual effort to reach a true understanding of his patients. This broke him down in ten years' time and he took up his own long struggle against death which after ten years more finally conquered him. But up to the

last he tried to keep up his practice. Even when he was so weak that he could have died at any time he forced himself up and out among his sick—he was simply unable to let go that hold he had upon suffering and for the assurance of which he had given his own life as security.

But with Wetterstrand there was also quite another feature than this over-sensitiveness for suffering, this compulsion to connect himself with it, this will to struggle against everything that is destructive to life. He was gentle in his manner and there was something strangely quiet and harmonious about his own personality. Even more than for suffering was he sensitive to every living, producing, regenerating force in nature and in humanity. This shows itself continually in the letters I have before me. Most of them are written from Vienna, whither he betook himself after his final examinations, for the purpose of improving his knowledge in diseases of the eye and in surgery. Among his descriptions of hospitals and operating-rooms, one finds him dilating upon the scenery and the works of art which especially fascinated him. It is as if the yearning of a lifetime brimming over in his soul, suddenly broke bonds, in spite of everything that sought to convince him that existence is nothing but a wilderness of desolation. I read for example, the following reflexion:—

So well may the works of poets and artists be com-

pared with the stained glass in these Catholic churches. Looked at from without everything seems dark and dismal! But only go inside and all takes on another aspect; the glass gives out all the colors of the rainbow and if one has a little imagination, one soon sees the pictures come to life. It is the same way with poetry. It may be written with the pen, painted with the brush or hewn out of stone, but it must not be looked upon from without nor with prosaic eyes. It is because it has been so looked upon that so many have never understood poetry or, upon the whole, disdain all poetical points of view.

Wetterstrand felt this strong necessity of seeing life from within. The dreadful things he had to experience as a physician never became all that nature had to tell him about human existence. There must be some sanctuary wherein even the most cheerless and meaningless things change and acquire their inner connection. He who reaches this shrine has overcome suffering by another path than that upon which the usual system of therapeutics has made its struggle on through centuries. For at the same time when there comes a glimmer of poetry,—of re-birth—over that which looked at from without has seemed the absolute negation of life, at the same time redemption is drawing nigh. Wetterstrand had a strong feeling for this eternal pouring out of life from within, from mysterious depths which we never quite can fathom. From this feeling arose in him appreciation of the faculty of seeing all things with

the poet's eye, which may be observed in this quotation from his letter. This feeling was also the basis for his strong belief in the possibility of overcoming disease through some psychic means. No theoretical controversy, no attack, no discouraging experiences could disturb this belief;—in it lay his strength. But in it lay also his limitations.

The work of the practical physician contains however little enough of poetry, no matter if in the depth of his soul he may have never so poetical an outlook upon the world. When Wetterstrand came home from his journey, a position as district physician to the poor awaited him, and there he came into touch with plenty of life's prose. "I begin the day with looking at tongues and curing cases of diarrhea," he writes in one of his following letters. And he continued for fifteen years to fulfill all the dismal duties attached to this office.

Sometime about 1885, Liébeault's work entitled "Le Sommeil provoqué et les etats analogues," fell into the hands of Wetterstrand. Predestined as he was by the whole tendency of his nature for the psychic side of disease, nothing more was needed to cause a complete change in his work. He had intended to become a specialist in diseases of the lungs. But now he discovered that he must start out in quite a different direction.

However much modern medical research may work towards the reduction of the cause of disease to solely

extraneous physical facts, it does not succeed in rooting out of the folk-consciousness the conception, that these causes have in their finality something to do with the conflicts of life. People may have all possible respect for the bacillus of tuberculosis and know what mischief it produces; but they nevertheless never cease to exclaim: "He *worried* himself into consumption." If one starts to investigate this postulated connection between life and suffering, a group of disturbances that are called functional, are first met with. Conflict alone can bring only the functions of an organ into a disturbed condition. It can not directly destroy its tissues. To what degree it in time may act injuriously, so that the organ or organism becomes easier prey for further injuries, is a question which just now may be put aside. Traditional medical science has a great inclination to overlook the importance of functional diseases. Even today there are physicians who satisfy themselves with the phrase: "Only hysteria!" if after physical examination they can find nothing upon which to take certain hold. And against this kind of suffering they have the most illusory expedients to recommend. Unfortunately the patient can scarcely make such a bagatelle of his suffering as can the doctor; for him the word "only" is small comfort and his pain is as hard to bear as any physical disease.

Many times I have had patients say to me: "If I had cancer and so some hope of death! But to live

on year after year like this, it is more than I can endure." I recall a young man who came to me suffering from nervous incontinence, and who, as a matter of little importance in comparison, told me that he also had pulmonary tuberculosis. "As for that," he said, "I care very little about it; either I shall get well of it or die and we shall all die sometime. But it is a thousand times worse with the other thing. That makes pretty much every hour one of torment, so that I have not the slightest comfort in life!" And it is true: in the face of death the healthy individual can be resigned far easier than before a kind of suffering which makes the short time we at best have to live, of no value.

The physician who is inspired by a genuine feeling for his calling, cannot pass by these functional diseases with such indifference. And if he has difficulty in resigning himself to the limitations of the science of medicine, its powerlessness in this sphere is to him a constant source of worry. And if there is in him a blending of warm feeling for the pathos of life and of that over-sensitiveness for suffering which was so marked in Wetterstrand, this kind of disease and the fight against it must be for him something of the highest importance.

As for so many others, Liébeault was a kind of evangelist for Wetterstrand. His work awakened hope of a possibility of rational attack against functional disease. And the way he pointed out was

free from all that repellent mystery in which earlier attempts had been enveloped. Without danger of losing its dignity, science might take its stand upon this path. Its fundamental experiments could be again produced, their application to the art of treatment could be worked out and systematized.

Wetterstrand did not hesitate to put these new ideas to practical proof. It was at that time a fortunate circumstance perhaps, that he already had a large clientêle which hitherto he had treated according to the usual methods and which had unbounded confidence in him. It was quite plain that these patients were most fertile soil for treatment by suggestion. The rumor spread that wonderful things happened in Wetterstrand's consulting-room. Those unfortunates who formerly had gone away unbenefitted, returned in the hope that the hour of freedom at last had struck.

There is certainly no demand so deeply rooted in the mass of humanity as the demand for wonders; indeed is there anyone who can fully give up a hope that the world-regulation so much needed, may some time be accomplished, by a revelation which will solve all, explain all?

Here it was as if a new Bethesda suddenly had arisen. The news spread throughout the town. A stream of sick people came from all directions. The consultation-room was besieged. People sat outside on the stairs and waited. It was no question of dif-

ferentiation between functional and organic disease, between what could be attacked by this new method and what was inaccessible to it. Delighted over the possibilities that opened before him, Wetterstrand himself did not define so closely as he should have done, in order to preserve the reputation of his method of treatment. He seemed to believe that through suggestion, both tumors and broken legs could be cured. Only by slow degrees did he learn to place the right indications.

Surely during this early time he had most surprising results. I have often heard from entirely reliable people, case-histories related, which I could not have believed had they reached me in any other way. Judging from all points of view it seems to me that no one has ever succeeded in reaching the results he reached in treatment by suggestion. Physicians of a skeptical type may shrug their shoulders at this and talk of a psychic epidemic. A scornful word nevertheless cannot overthrow what is an absolute matter of fact. And the reply to such objections appears to me self-evident:—in like conditions, physicians, with all their might, should seek the continuation of such an epidemic. An epidemic that frees masses of people from suffering, before unavailable for treatment, must surely be considered as something inexpressibly good, as well for the physician as for the community.

This new work forced Wetterstrand to leave his

position as district doctor. He moved from his former home to a place more suitable to his special needs. Here, during a period of ten years (1887-1897), was carried on that practice which seems to me to be one of the most interesting in medical history.

Wetterstrand's reputation during this time spread farther and farther. It was not restricted to his own country nor to Europe itself. His name became the foremost in the cosmopolitan neurotic clientêle. Many doctors came from abroad to study this new branch of therapeutics.

Wetterstrand did not win his reputation through the writings he gave out during this period. This part of his work had relatively slight importance by the side of his practical work. His fame spread from patient to patient. With the same inclination notoriety has for magnifying faults when propagated by the evil minded, with just the same ease is magnified every good thing when spread abroad by those who are thankful and well disposed. From the press also came more or less embellished stories—a thing that has little that is agreeable in it for a scientific worker, but which more than anything else contributes toward giving the wonder-worker a brighter nimbus.

Such a description of Wetterstrand's work came out in a book by Ludvig Hevesi, under the title:

"The Grotto of Sleep." He writes among other things:

Wetterstrand's house differs in no way from other houses which stand in the beautiful quarter of the town under the shadow of the Royal Library. But in the second story are two large rooms in which lives a wondrous, unbelievable modern wizard. Daily from nine until four o'clock, remarkable magic goes on, while from sixty to seventy people a day are amazed and would not credit the thing if they themselves had not played a part in it. Silently one enters the place, for heavy reddish-brown rugs cover the floor. A faint light fills the rooms—no clocks tick, no flies buzz, no doors creak. The furniture consists only of lounges, sofas, divans and arm chairs. Upon each of these is lying or sitting a motionless figure, a petrified man, a rigid woman or a child. No one of them moves a muscle. There is no snoring, no moaning, as in ordinary sleep. But they really sleep. They sleep as calmly and innocently as a child at its mother's breast. A faint smile spreads itself over every face. The harmony of unconsciousness flows over these fortunate ones. Is it an opium dive where one smokes oneself into insensibility? One's eyes seek the door-posts to see if they are of ivory, as in the dream land of Homer. The Silence of Death—— . . .

Wetterstrand's reputation as a worker of wonders has seldom stood so clear before me as when I once after his death read a letter addressed to him

which was sent to me to be answered. It was from a man in New York. He was well himself, but he had a wife who was peculiarly fractious; when the storms of temper came upon her she grew so violent that she beat both husband and children. Unfortunately the letter-writer was unable to send her away for treatment. But he wished to inquire if Dr. Wetterstrand could not teach him a method by which he could quickly hypnotize her whenever the necessity arose, so that in this way he might have peace in his house.

What took place at this time in Wetterstrand's house was only one part of the movement that had its origin in Liébeault. A few words concerning the historical qualifications of this movement may possibly be of interest.

It is, upon several points, united with animal magnetism. After this idea lost its energy, the recollection of it still lived among a few investigators, and magnetisers continued to make an effort toward the revival of the study through so-called psychic performances. One of these so-called magnetisers visited Manchester about the year 1870. One evening the well known surgeon Braid, happened to be in the audience. He was convinced that these so-called magnetic phenomena were no humbug; something was hidden behind, but something quite other than the action of a hypnotic fluid. He began to make experiments and found that he could put a number of dif-

ferent individuals into a peculiar condition, by compelling them to fix the eyes, and in this way the attention also, upon a given point. This condition he first called "nervous sleep" and his book upon the subject was given the title "Neurhypnology"; from this the word hypnotism, later on, arose. In the written description of this condition, characteristics of magnetic sleep again came up; especially he pointed out how a great many different kinds of nervous disturbances disappeared during this sleep, as if by witchcraft.

Regarding the genesis of this condition he had, at first some physiological ideas. But his town was visited also by an "electro-biologist" and the thoughts brought to him in this way, led him upon another track.

The phenomena by which this "electro-biologist" entertained the public, in these days would be called something more akin to suggestion in the waking state.

The performance which they gave was one in which members of the audience were permitted to come up upon the stage, and then false ideas were presented to and accepted by them. In this way people were induced to mistake potatoes for apples, to be terrified by animals which were not there, etc. Braid took up the study of this phenomena and began to look upon his hypnotic experiments from a more psychological point of view. From the literature

that I have been able to obtain concerning this, I am not fully clear how far he was able to go; it seems to me, however, that he became entangled in a great many contradictions which came up in the course of his work. When Bramwell brought the discussion of the Nancy School into London medical circles, he made an effort to claim that Braid had really anticipated the whole thing. In this there is, without doubt, exaggeration. It is certain, however, that Braid did not succeed in making the phenomena of suggestion a matter of general study.

Most of his work was submerged in the opposition of traditional medicine. On the other hand it is perhaps true, that the chief importance of the work of the Nancy School lies in the fact that, to a certain degree, it was successful in breaking through this opposition.

If Liébeault had continued his work alone, he would surely have been just as unfortunate as Braid and others of his predecessors. Liébeault was a simple country practitioner in the neighborhood of Nancy and few people paid any attention to his book when it came out about the year 1870. In his youth he had been interested in animal magnetism, but only in riper years did he get the opportunity to occupy himself completely with these studies. He had gone on for about ten years with the investigation of such phenomena from his new viewpoint, before he dared showed himself before the scientific world. But

neither the thoroughness of his work nor the force of his own conviction could break down the opposition which immediately arose against him. It was only when Bernheim, Professor of Medicine at Nancy, began to intervene for his sake that things came into a more favorable light. This happened in 1882. Bernheim and Liébeault were drawn together by a mutual friend. Bernheim came to him a scoffer, but he went away convinced. It was not long before he was deeply plunged into the study of suggestion, nor was it long before his own great work upon that subject came out. That this became the foremost authority for the use of treatment by suggestion has its special reason. Because of his greater scientific achievement, Bernheim succeeded in clothing the new ideas in a manner which did much to simplify the amalgamation of them with academic learning. It can by no means be denied that this had great importance, but it remains another question, if this by itself was favorable for the highest possible development of these ideas into clarity of understanding and ability to endure. For my part I believe that the spreading of these ideas was due to a kind of popularity which was nevertheless fatal for the future development of the study itself. Another reason for this position which Bernheim obtained as the foremost representative of the new branch of therapeutics is to be found in his association with the scientific world. It was through Bernheim that

Liégeois became interested in the matter and took hold of the investigation of suggestion from a judicial standpoint; and it was on Bernheim's initiative that the Professor of Physiology, Beaunis, applied the ideas to his sphere of activity. Above all it was Bernheim who jumped into the breach in the great battle against Charcot.

About the same time, that the investigators mentioned gathered themselves together under the name of the Nancy School, Charcot had arrived at a very similar stage of progress in his own studies among the patients at Salpetriéres.

The name of this hospital was given to the school that grew up about him. Charcot had begun to study the importance of suggestion in connection with hysterical symptoms. For him the meaning of suggestion and hysteria was so interwoven that he came to look upon the phenomena of suggestion itself as a kind of disease product; he denied at the same time that any valuable therapeutic method could be based upon it. It was this that called forth the controversy between the two schools. The combining element in the Nancy School, was the assertion of the all powerfulness of the process of suggestion: this was something always present in the psychic life of the human being and it could always be used to bring about a favorable change in the course of functional diseases. I shall not take up this controversy which long ago lost its interest. Neither shall I dis-

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cuss the differences of opinion which arose within the Nancy School itself; that would go far outside the frame of these studies. I will merely devote a few pages to what I consider the most vital kernels of truth in all which the Nancy School brought out and turned over for further elaboration, to those who came after. And for that I need only confine myself to the fundamental work which has been already mentioned.

Liébeault tries to explain exactly what he means concerning suggestion in the following sentence:—

> An idea that is carried over to a sleeping person by means of a gesture or other communication, with the intention that a physiological, or even more, a psychological phenomenon shall be brought about through this, in his organism, is called suggestion.

In most of the later efforts to make the idea of suggestion exact, it seems to me two faults have been committed:—either this idea has been stretched out to such a degree that the word suggestion nearly becomes a new name for psychic phenomena in general,—or else in order to avoid this, there has been an effort to force it back within limits that are false. Liébeault's carefulness avoids both these dangers. An idea, a conception, an experience in general can, under unique circumstances, be worked out in a peculiar way; can, so to speak, enter as an integral constituent into the organism and in a cer-

tain degree become a deciding factor in its future fate. Suggestion differs in this dynamic respect from the ordinary impression. "It is thus the road from imagination to reality, from appearance to entity which in its most inner meaning characterizes suggestion," says Schmidkunz, who has devoted a bulky volume to this question. It might be simply said that suggestion is the word made flesh. The suggestibility is therefore that quality because of which we are able to incorporate within ourselves, to make our own, that which we experience.

Little by little Liébeault went deeper into this fundamental phenomenon and learned to see various disease conditions from the viewpoint thus obtained, so that the idea for him not only became the preservation of life for the organism, but also its formative power. "For us who do not acknowledge the existence of any physical process which is not interpreted by a thought or fear of this, for us there is nothing repulsive in insisting that it is the outgoing unconscious thought from the brain which constructs and supports the organism; which unceasingly watches over that complicated drivewheel which sustains existence." This may sound merely like a paradox and it is hard to follow Liébeault in his evidence for the correctness of this last sharp point in his opinion. But on the other side there are phenomena of suggestion which only with the greatest difficulty can be interpreted without the supposition that

imagination plays a determining rôle in the whole life-process. To these phenomena belong, above all, the so-called skin phenomena; for example, the production of blisters on the skin without external influence. Through these it can be very obviously shown how the suggested ideas produce a decided organic change. In opposing oneself to Liébeault's exaggerated ideas of suggestion, and in trying to belittle them, it is all too easy to forget the unexplained facts which led him to his opinion.

Of far greater importance than this physiological side of suggestion is the psychological side. The constructing and regulating of life from within is a fact of unlimited value. "During the waking condition the individual is, because of the attention, the author of his own sensations, ideas and plans."

It is the emphasizing of this active reproductive feature in the process of life which is real. It means a study in detail of the way in which construction occurs under normal circumstances, if one wishes to understand how functional diseases arise through disturbances in this condition, through transference and complications of many different kinds. Very much of that which appears to happen automatically, as for example, sleep, really comes about through self-suggestion. In the same way an individual suggests to himself, without at all understanding it, many nervous symptoms.

When Liébeault later on was called upon to ex-

plain the phenomena of suggestion he was altogether wrapped up in the psychology of the attention. Suggestion arises through a one-sided direction of an accumulated attention upon a certain point. In explaining this he uses such terms that one may easily get an impression that he is trying to make of the attention, a kind of mystic power. It is this that chiefly gave offense when his book came out. Foville said in "Societé Medico-psychologique,"—"Does it not seem as if we were carried far back, and as if Liébeault's 'attention' is nothing but a new name for all those dominators of different rank, which according to Van Helmont should direct our organs and be the prime movers in the discharge of their functions?" Naturally Liébeault intended nothing of the sort; his expression was purely figurative. But even when times changed and his work was given the appreciation it deserved, people would not concur in his effort to explain suggestion absolutely as attention-phenomena. It called forth numberless ideas in other directions; but all these rather served to make the question more vague than to further elucidate it. An effort toward the disentanglement of all this jumble is not in place here. But if any one succeeds in some time carrying it through, I am convinced that it will show that no one has come nearer a true solution of this question than Liébeault himself. In spite of many defects he had a simple genuine grip upon the problem, which may well require to

be made more complete and deep, but which never should be disregarded.

The question concerning the importance of the attention carries one directly over to Liébeault's opinion regarding hypnosis.

The attention became for him a kind of bridge by means of which he connected not only suggestion and hypnosis with each other, but also both these phenomena with commonplace, well known things. The line of thought is extraordinarily simple and can be gathered together in a few lines: during the waking life the attention is divided by the sense organs and through them, by all the impressions received from the external world and from the psychic rearrangement of these; it is not only diffused among all these different objects, it is also bound up in them —immovable. Where connection with the external world is cut off through sleep, the organism, so to speak, sinks down into itself. Then a radical change occurs, and the attention which before was bound up, is now made free. It draws itself back therefore, from all those things by which it has been split up, into the organism, into the nervous system. This shows itself in an accumulation of the attention in the brain. And this accumulated attention is used up during sleep in the reconstructing process of the organism. Such regeneration thus, does not happen automatically but is regulated by the nervous system through something which has intimate connection

with the psychic-life. "Due to this accumulation of the attention, the sleeper not only has the faculty of lessening or strengthening the activity of the senses, that is, his forces; he also modifies the fabric of them with a magic power; he transforms, he creates; in this way he is able to bring again into harmony the forces, which during the day, have become unbalanced." If it is possible to get into communication with one who is asleep, the attention which has so been made free, may be led into the desired path. It is so possible by suggesting certain ideas, to direct regeneration toward a selected result. During such conditions the power of the imagination over the organism is increased many fold. This is what occurs during hypnotic suggestion. Hypnotism, according to Liébeault, is nothing but a state of sleep, during which the subject comes into rapport with the operator; hypnotic suggestion is only imagination increased to a maximum activity, due to the accumulation of the attention. It is easy to see how all that evil of mysticism, in which animal magnetism had been wrapt, was torn aside by this simple interpretation. It is also easy to see how this became the word of emancipation for many, and how for science it became possible upon such a basis as this, to take hold of the treatment of nervous disturbances from the psychic point of view.

But unfortunately this view of the matter held

also a seed of misconception, which became fatal for its further development.

Braid had strongly pointed out the difference between sleep and hypnosis and in so doing forcibly laid claim to the proposition that hypnosis might have another and more widely diffused therapeutic value than sleep. This was right. But through Liébeault the difference between sleep and hypnosis was more effaced, and with his successors these ideas were entirely fused into one. Hypnosis became nothing but a suggested sleep and had no specific therapeutic action; it was nothing at all which could be made an object for study in itself, it was only a phenomenon of suggestion. In accepting this idea the whole line of treatment was directed toward suggestion; the specific action of hypnosis itself was turned away from, denied, and as a result there was no opportunity to ascertain anything further about it. In just this circumstance seems to me to lie one of the reasons why the work done by the Nancy School did not bear the fruit it should have borne.

But there is also another and still more important reason for this; namely the distortion of the idea of suggestion.

In the working out of this idea Liébeault had proceeded from everyday facts. He never neglected, so far as it was possible, to connect his statements with things which every one could prove by one's own

experience. But when later he had to bring forth evidence for his statements and to demonstrate suggestion with such clearness that it should command respect, he was obliged to take hold of psychological experiment. His followers referred continually to this. For in order to demonstrate the power of suggestion, one must experimentally suggest ideas which necessitated the greatest possible opposition to overcome. When the *privat docents*, for example, saw suggested criminal scenes carried out, in which the subject not only murdered his victim, but also showed the most agonizing remorse for his action, etc., etc., they began to wonder if something was not brought to light therein, which might be worth their study. Unable then to carry their experiments over from the laboratory to real life, they always kept such experiments as this in mind when they spoke of suggestion. The repellant ideas conveyed to the subject at these experiments, and brought into actuality by him, became for them the general prototype for suggestion. And upon this prototype is based the quality of the idea itself. And this went so far that the contrariness of reason became fixed as the most mighty characteristic of suggestion. Theorists have often a remarkable faculty for destroying the work of science.

For people in general treatment by suggestion received, in this connection, a smack of the unreal, a method made use of by the uncritical, something con-

trary to logical development, etc.,—everything that tended to destroy the esteem it merited. To undergo hypnotic treatment was the same thing as to give up one's free will and put one's self wholly under the influence of another. It must also be acknowledged that among those who practiced this treatment there were some who so little understood their work, that they did endeavor to use influence in this banal meaning. But it must be decidedly denied that any such thing is in the nature of the method of the treatment itself. All psychic treatment strives after the freeing of forces that have been bound, and the adjustment of the individual to that external reality in which he must live;—from this rule, hypnotic treatment never in the slightest degree departs.

The ideas that grew out of the Nancy School spread with rapidity. The new branch of therapeutics was accepted and took fast root in most of the countries of Europe. In Switzerland it came through Forel, in Holland through Reutergehm and Van Eeden, in England through Bramwell, in Austria through Krafft-Ebing and Freud, in Germany through Moll, Schrenck-Nötzing, Hirschloff and others. Everywhere in medical circles arose similar discussions and disagreements as in France. Neurologists in general placed themselves on the side of their master, Charcot, and those who sought to specialize in the new direction lost much strength in strife against his authority.

That suggestive therapeutics, in spite of the lively interest in it, which went on during the decade from 1880-1890, did not come to occupy the more important rôle in medical specialties, which it did occupy later on, seem to me to depend much upon the reasons here given. There is also another reason for this. Traditionally medical science has been directed toward the phenomena of physical disease. This tradition may go thousands of years back, possibly even to that period when the original unity between therapeutics and religion was broken into two spheres of activity, and when the care of mental disturbances and aberrations was relegated to the religious field. In every case it has been so deeply seated in the general medical consciousness that physicians neither ought nor must be permitted to take charge of the psychic side of disease, that it has needed decades to unsettle this dogma. From my own student days I recall how the professor at once remarked it, if in a case-history a student touched upon those conflicting factors out of which a disturbance of this sort arose, although it were in connection with such a common thing as alcoholism, which in no way at all can be understood without knowledge concerning these connections. While every group of purely physical disease is represented at each great seat of learning by its professor and it clinic, up to the present time there is no professor of psychotherapy in Europe. When physicians take up its practice with-

out any basic knowledge of this subject, it is natural that they should not show understanding for all those streams of thought that have been set in motion through different sources. In the science of medicine, however, co-operation between colleagues is needful, and every branch of it which is lopped away from this co-operation must little by little, wither. The sick often feel only a general diminishing of force, not even knowing if this has physical or psychic significance; it is the physician's duty to make this clear, and it is only the united experience of the different representatives of the medical corps, that can aid in so doing. One reason for the stunted growth of treatment by suggestion seems to me to lie in the simple fact that it lacks fertile soil in the medical corps itself. It is only necessary to glance through the reports of some present day discussion to comprehend this.

In our own medical society the subject of hypnotism was first brought forward by Björnström in February, 1885. The chief inducement for this was that he wished to fix the attention of his colleagues upon the danger of public performances like those which a Danish magnetiser, named Sixtus, was giving. For the first time, the subject came into general discussion in February, 1885. Here Wetterstrand made his appearance and presented some practical experiments. He referred to the work which had already begun to appear in print in "Hygiea" and

which the same year came out in book form under the title "The Use of Hypnotism in Practical Medicine."

But Wetterstrand, unfortunately, was not the type of man to break through the opposition which here, as elsewhere, arose against the new experiment. Admitting that the unpretentious way in which he presented his observations commanded the respect of a number of his hearers and inspired a few to themselves make a trial, little more came of it. Into an integral constituent of therapeutics, which it is each practitioner's duty to know just as well as every other branch, he was unable to bring treatment by suggestion, no matter how earnestly he strove. And this was not only because of circumstances in general but because of personal qualities in Wetterstrand himself.

Science demands exact evidence before accepting new ideas. It concerns itself only with final obvious causal connections, and it tolerates neither wavering indecisions nor incompleteness. Where it concerns a therapeutic process it means nothing to say: the patient was so and so, I have done this and now he is well. Science demands the laying forth of a necessary causal connection between the first state and the last. It must give the observer an insight into that play of forces out of which the disease grew and show how these forces, which by some therapeutic means are set in motion, counteract and overcome it.

Wetterstrand's case histories are singularly naïve. They give rise to numberless questions that remain unanswered and by criticism nothing is easier than to crumble them to pieces one after the other. It was not in Wetterstrand to work out, in a logical, scientific way, that which he saw take place in his treatment rooms. He was a practitioner who acted on the spur of the moment, intuitively, and he had intellectually about as little understanding of that which was evident in his methods, as an artist has for that which happens when a living work grows beneath his hands. Spontaneous action is one thing and the conscious laying clear of the inner progress of it is quite another. Qualifications in both directions may possibly be united in one individual; but it is sure that they were not so united in Wetterstrand. One of his patients has told me, when he felt the chaotic disturbance of his mind clear away in a wonderful manner during his treatment, that he could not withstand the temptation to ask: "But tell me, doctor, how does this strange thing happen?" Wetterstrand answered with a kind of waggish smile, that was peculiar to him: "That is my own secret. But if you promise not to give it away I will tell you: I do not know myself!" In this way his treatment often went on, with little reflection on his part. So it was but a natural consequence that he was afterwards unable to demonstrate scientifically what he accomplished, in such a way as to convince a sceptic

from the outside. The whole thing must often remain a secret between him and the patient.

Even if Wetterstrand's work thus did not construct any valuable stratum in the scientific archives, it is far beyond all doubt that he was a tower of strength on the road to health for innumerable people. His great reputation was not an accidental one but was based upon genuine ability. The foundation for it is to be found finally in those features of his nature, which I pointed out in the beginning of this paper. Only one who is so over-sensitive to suffering as he was, can teach himself to intuitively understand the sick. And it is in this understanding that the mystery of suggestion to a great degree is to be found. Everyone knows the marvelous result achieved by finding some one who really understands that which lies nearest his heart. When this happens the whole attention expands and the individual is really stirred by what he hears. The more thoroughly one human being understands another, just so much more sensitive that one becomes to the other's judgment—and just so much greater power is awarded the one over the other's life. This happens instinctively. For to give some one who understands power over one's life, is actually the same as to will added power over it for one's self. The outsider thus plays only the rôle of a sounding-board which strengthens, supports, lifts up, the one who is struggling, the one who left to himself would wither

and dry like a leaf before the wind. Suggestion is the strengthening of this central point in the individual, through which he may be lifted to the dominating reality of life. In Wetterstrand this understanding, by means of which he won suggestive power over the sick, remained more a thing of feeling. We stumble upon a factor in his method of treatment here, which cannot be more closely cleared up. Life itself is not accessible to scientific analysis and never will be; with the very analysis, that unity which is its innermost essence, falls asunder, it starts up new spheres of phenomena which may be further worked out by thought, but which never by this means can be carried back to the uncomplicated origin of it. It is the same in greater or less degree, with everything that has to do with those central occurrences in the individual's inner life, or in the mutual circumstances of life between individuals. The same thing applies also to that which happens when one's understanding of the emotions releases forces which have been imprisoned and when contact with an unfamiliar will serves to drive the personal development on towards a more harmonious state of existence.

It is not only in this way that there is difficulty in molding such thoughts into scientific form. Even more—each effort in this direction acts as an obstruction. Every artist knows that when reflexion blends itself in with the work in hand, there is an end to inspired creation. Something like this holds

good here too. In order to reach this power of understanding over another, that other must be approached with confidence. His point of view and his actions must be accepted. And this acceptance must be so far reaching that it will appear a self-evident proposition that he could not have seen or acted otherwise. To this, nothing can be more opposed than that critical sharpness with which every investigator must approach his object. "I cannot expect a patient to have confidence in me, if I have none in him," I heard Wetterstrand say one day. But to have confidence in a morphinist is about the same as to "be pulled by the leg." The physician easily comes upon the following dilemma; either unbounded confidence and happy results, of which a few are perhaps illusory; or a critical unbelief and practical experience, which surely are discouraging, but as a reward are just so much more scientifically sure. Wetterstrand chose unhesitatingly the former.

Another of Wetterstrand's characteristics, which has importance for a comprehension of his work, was a warm feeling for life and belief in its power, an inexhaustible stream of hope and confidence in the victory of what is good. Thanks to this he could reconstruct many a broken life and conjure forth some glimmer of light for the future, even in the most despairing. But also because of this was the value of his scientific work largely reduced; his case-histories sometimes bear rather the imprint of that

which he himself wished to see, than of the sad reality. I heard once one of his patients say: "He asked me if I had had any fits and I answered no; it was impossible for me to admit that I had had, when I know how depressed the truth would make him." Nowhere is the difference between the practical physician and the scientific researcher so clear as here. The physician must with all his forces turn both himself and the patient in the direction of life and seize every hint it gives, with eagerness. He must cherish each thing which contains the seed of something which may be worth while, so that its growth may not be checked. He must augment each impulse towards victory so that a belief in the power to be victorious may be enhanced, for without this one can do nothing. And in a similar way he must belittle all signs of the disease. Suffering is something unreal that should disappear before the only reality that exists,—the everlasting regeneration of life. It will not do to accord this unreality any attention. But such ideas have nothing to do with the objective investigation. This must not be mixed up with any such estimation of value. For it, each phenomenon is quite simply a thing to be inquired into; it is a matter of indifference whither the inquiry leads. If the phenomenon of disease is the object of research, it is only necessary to verify it and to make clear all its details.

For Wetterstrand it would have been just as im-

possible to reduce a sick person to an object for study, as it would have been for Charcot to keep from doing this. As a consequence also, Wetterstrand never won the confidence that was accorded Charcot by his fellow practitioners. This hurt him. And he never quite succeeded in resigning himself to it.

Besides his book on "The Use of Hypnotism in Practical Medicine," Wetterstrand has published only a few shorter articles; the most valuable of these seems to me to be "Ueber den Künstlich Verlängerten Schlaf." Even if these works had no great scientific value, they are of interest in some respects.

Because of his intuitive faculty it not infrequently happened that Wetterstrand hit the mark, no matter if his argument was very halting. As an example it is enough to cite the epilepsy question. When he came forward and, supported by a series of cases, declared that epilepsy could be radically cured by means of hypnotism, he was met only with disbelief. In medical circles it was curtly asserted that the cases in question had nothing in common with true epilepsy, and the authorities with one voice, declared the whole thing contrary to their experience. Further researches have, however, shown, that even such interruptions of the continuity of consciousness, which have the perfect epileptic type, may be of psychic origin and so be cured through psychic treatment. It is true that this treatment is in these days, used

according to quite other principles than those by which Wetterstrand was led to his conclusions; but with the accumulation of new experiments, no one may put Wetterstrand's statements aside as absurdities. It will always remain of interest that he dared protest against the dogma of the incurability of epilepsy, when all the rest of the medical world still believed in it.

Another thing is of even greater interest.

As one of the reasons why suggestive-therapeutics did not become what it should have become, I have pointed out in the preceding pages, a certain twisting about of facts concerning it, to which the fundamental principles themselves were subjected, chiefly because science, on account of this, was driven into a cul-de-sac. Wetterstrand did not permit himself to be dragged into this epochal current of thought in the same way as did the others. His ideas concerning suggestion, he always brought out of what was real about him, that which flowed past him in his actual practice; it was never changed into a dead product of the laboratory. Even more Wetterstrand's independence upon the question of his idea of hypnotism, advanced. Bernheim was coming more and more to interpret all phenomena belonging thereto as expressions of suggestion. Hypnosis itself was to him only a phenomena of suggestion. On account of his authority this idea impressed itself upon the scientific consciousness. His categorical sentence,

"There is no hypnotism. There is only suggestion!" became a kind of byword. But Wetterstrand's work reached out towards quite an opposite direction. The more he saw, just the more plain it became to him that there existed a peculiar condition of consciousness, which has a specific therapeutic action upon the organism. In this he was closer to Braid than to the Nancy School and constructed a point of contact with the older opinions, whose abandonment had been altogether too brutally brought about. The great basic problem for him was to find a way in which one might systematically make use of the therapeutic value of hypnosis in the highest possible degree. His book was an effort towards the solution of this problem. Theoretically this thing appears simple:—an effort should be made to prolong the hypnotic condition not only for hours but for days and weeks. It is a pity that the practical demonstration of such an effort meets with great difficulties. It demands, to begin with, a place where the patient can, during sleep, be kept free from all disturbing influences; this cannot be done either in a home or in an ordinary sanitarium. If the method is taken up on a larger scale, a house must be built for that purpose. Even under such circumstances one must struggle with another difficulty, viz: that the method places unusually great demands upon the doctor. As a rule it does not mean one or two visits a day; it needs three or four in order to con-

tinue the hypnotic condition and prevent awakening.

But when it came to practically prove his ideas and make plain the effectiveness of them, all such hindrances gave way in front of Wetterstrand's energy. He succeeded under the most unfavorable conditions in keeping patients asleep for a whole month at a stretch. It must be acknowledged above all doubt that inestimable results were obtained in this way. That the method was not taken up by others except in isolated cases, may thus, very probably depend upon the practical difficulties attached to it.

Through his independence regarding these two basic questions of this way of treating disease, it seems to me that Wetterstrand has made a contribution which must not be underestimated.

Far from leading to a reduction of their value, the lines he followed point straight towards greater possibilities. Whither a consequent use of the organism's function of regeneration, such as is apparent in hypnosis, may lead, no one can prophesy,—only practical experience in time to come, can show this. But it is certain that few things are so suited for setting a physician's imagination in motion as just this.

* * *

Wetterstrand died in the summer of 1907.

Later years have carried with them a whole series

of new ideas which from the very foundation have transformed psychotherapeutics. This could not be lastingly built up upon relatively undecided and uncertain experiences, such as came out in the hypnotic literature. It demanded a far firmer grip upon the whole of medical psychology and a stronger scientific working out of the processes which lead to disease and to health. The hopeful naïvity of the practitioner had to give way before the cold eye of research. Only in this way could an undisturbed basis be reached such as science must and does demand.

The development of the subject has brought all the old disputes into a new position and has given rise to many others.

My effort in the following studies will be to give an idea of this development and afterwards to try to show whither psychotherapy, after passing through this state of scientific growth, seems to me to lead.

III

PSYCHANALYSIS AS A SCIENCE AND METHOD OF TREATMENT

MEDICAL psychology finds itself at the present time in an especially notable period of development. Historically there are only two epochs which can be compared in importance with it, viz: that of somnambulism in the beginning of the nineteenth century and of hypnotism in 1880. Looked at from a distance it seems as if the movement in the midst of which we now are, had a great many points of comparison in common with these earlier ones. Like them the movement has in this case chiefly proceeded from a single man, about whom a great many disciples have gathered with an admiration rare in scientific circles. This man's name is Sigmund Freud. He is a professor in Vienna.

If one reads the old literature one cannot help being struck by a certain eagerness displayed therein for new and peculiar experiences along with a corresponding neglect of critical purging of material. New literature can scarcely be made free from a tendency in a similar direction.

During the earlier state of any science very much will be brought forth which later shows itself of no decided value; but the haste with which doctrines here follow one another is almost enervating. Just as when academic medicine stood in its time as a compact majority against the old schools, must be repeated here the same thing. Everywhere the new school meets with an intense opposition. At the assemblage of German Neurologists in October, 1910, physicians belonging to sanatoria were obliged to officially give out a declaration that they had nothing to do with psychanalysis, and Raimann suggested that neurologists should agree among themselves upon the publication of every case in which it could possibly be suspected that psychanalytical treatment had done the patient harm. At the convention of alienists in Breslau in the Spring of 1913, the discussion was more heated. Here the opposition was led by Hoche who declared that the whole idea of psychanalysis was to be considered as a psychic epidemic among physicians. Such "intellectual rooting like a pig" ought to be repulsive to everybody. He summed up his attack with the following sentence: "The only lasting interest to be found in the psychanalytical episode, is its connection with the sphere of the history of culture."

On the one side, its partisans believe in the thing almost to the point of fanaticism; on the other, the attacks of its opponents against it often seem like a

revival of the inquisition. But this is also true with doctrines, which not only are of fundamental importance for the development of medicine. They reach out into one field after another connected with human life, and if they prove to be true, changes cannot be avoided; they must in such case, with time, also obtain a widespread general cultural importance.

* * *

I shall in a few words point out how these new opinions fitted themselves into historical development.

About the beginning of 1880 the Vienna physician Breuer had under treatment a case of severe hallucinatory hysteria. He used hypnotism in order to suggest the symptoms away in the usual manner. In the somnambulistic state the patient began to talk about the origin of the symptoms and little by little her consciousness stretched out over a mass of forgotten circumstances which therein played a rôle. She, herself, noticed that the symptoms disappeared as soon as their hidden causal connection was brought into consciousness. This patient is thus the true discoveror of the psychanalytical method. Breuer understood at once how to use the hints given and carried out the consequent treatment until the patient by means of this "talking cure" as

she called it, was made free of all her symptoms. For those who have been interested in this much written about case-history, I can add that the patient had to undergo a severe crisis in addition to what was given out in the description of the case. Since then, however, she has lived and still lives, in the best health and in widespread activity.

For private reasons Breuer, however, did not go any further in his following out of the beginning he had made. He even let his notes lie untouched upon his desk. And they would probably still be lying there, if he had not come into a dispute about the thing with his younger colleague Freud. Freud immediately suspected the importance of the matter and when he went to Paris to study he talked it over with Charcot. But Charcot, who then was deep in his work concerning the phenomena of hysteria and the experimental causes of it, had no interest in any new experiments. This however did not prevent Freud from coming into close touch with Charcot, whereof the memoirs inspired by gratitude and admiration, which he dedicated to him, bear witness. In spite of all his approbation however, Freud could not help pointing out the faultiness in Charcot's idea of hypnotism. Upon this question Freud united himself with the Nancy School and translated Bernheim's book into German. During the first year of his practice as a physician Freud also devoted himself to hypnotic treatment; but his attention was

drawn more and more to those points of view which had come to him through Breuer's case. In the year 1893, he published the first results of his psychanalytic experiments, and he then wholly gave up the practice of hypnotism in order to devote himself absolutely to the working out of the psychanalytical method. In the year 1895 he began his lectures upon this subject before an audience consisting of three persons. One of these, Sadger, has since followed him steadily and practices as an analyst in Vienna. Later the other two, Adler and Stekel, allied themselves to him, but retained their independence as original investigators. The Vienna group grew until after a time it comprised four persons. In the beginning of the year 1900, a branch arose in Zürich, under the leadership of Jung, who up to that time, next to Freud, had made most numerous literary contributions to the subject. One of the members of the Zürich colony, Abraham, settled down in Berlin, and has there gathered a group of followers about him. Since 1906, the movement has come into an acute state. The number of those who have officially allied themselves with the School, is, it is true, not so great. But nevertheless during the last year most neurologists have been in some degree feeling their way along Freud's road. The questions are discussed everywhere; one is obliged to take a standpoint and it is difficult to do this without at least some apparent personal experience.

Interest has spread itself far outside German speaking boundaries; to Italy, Russia, France and America. An international congress is held yearly. During the whole of this development there has been great difficulty in keeping the members together on any kind of united scientific program. And this difficulty finally became overwhelming. In the Summer of 1911, Adler separated himself completely from the rest and built up his own group under the name "Verein für freie psychoanalytische Forschung" which later on was changed to "Verein für Individual psychologie." It was decreed that one could not be a member of both schools, and the strife arose that still is going on. What this means I will more closely point out in the next paper. Most of those interested, allied themselves with either the one or the other group. Some preferred to keep themselves more at a distance and to avail themselves of anything essential which proceeded from either side. Just now there is going on a new division. It seems to be harder and harder for the Vienna school and the school at Zürich to work together; I shall touch upon the most important questions between them in my last study.

In connection with this schism the editing of the psychanalytical movement's journal during the course of three years, had undergone much change. "Jahrbuch für psychoanalystiche Forschungen" which is intended to take up greater original work

has hitherto been looked after by Jung, but with this year he steps out of the editorial chair. "Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse," was founded by Stekel and Adler. The latter went out at the time of the rupture with Freud, but when Freud some time after also tried to get rid of Stekel, the result instead was that he himself had to step back.

The paper continues to be edited by Stekel and bears a strong mark of Adler's spirit. The Freud dogmatism has now as its chief organ "Internationale Zeitschrift für Artzliche Psychoanalyse" which is edited by Ferenczi and Rank. Freud also issues a periodical called "Imago" with Rank and Sachs as editors; the object of this is to apply Freud's doctrines to the humanistic sciences in general. Besides this a continual series of detached works come out under the name: "Freud's Schriften zur Angewandten Seelenkunde." And Adler has under his patronage a similar series: "Schriften des Vereins für freie psychoanalytische Forschung." In addition to these a great many psychanalytical articles appear in the usual medical and pedagogical journals.

A gigantic work is produced by the psychanalytical investigators which carries the movement notably ahead both in inner and outer development,—not only for every year but even for every month. One would have to be especially blinded by his academical conservatism in order to find, with this

work before him, that psychanalysis is in its death throes, as Hoche declared it to be, at the Congress before mentioned. In this declaration he had in mind all the various schisms that were within the movement; but far from bearing witness to any loss of strength, the movement's power of expansion is, on the contrary, plainly to be seen. Yet this makes it almost an impossibility to give a united picture of the whole. In order to simplify the problem to some degree I shall in this paper, deal exclusively with Freud and with the work of his immediate pupils who round him out on one point or the other. And in order to at least reach an appearance of lucidity I shall confine myself to main characteristics. I intend to do this as objectively as possible without unnecessarily mixing in my own ideas.

* * *

The first difficulty met with concerning Freud's teachings is, that they by no means constitute a system which may be lightly glanced over. They are rather a chaos of efforts to explain and fix enormous masses of results of experiments. Antagonists often remark that it is altogether a theory; but this objection is quite out of place here.

The synopsis is, on the contrary, difficult of attainment just because the theoretical construction

work has been so much put aside. This may seem like a defect when it comes to giving a connected presentation; but really it is an advantage. It is all too easy to forget that the object of the psychologist, the human mind, is filled up with contradictions which amalgamate in actual life, but which never could be theoretically explained together. In the face of every psychology, which does not reflect the nature of its object, it is easy to be suspicious, to notice quickly that those concerned have not gone empirically about it, but have let themselves be led by prejudiced ideas. Besides, Freud, in the whole of his makeup is no theorist, and least of all a philosopher. He is an unusually clear-minded modern investigator, for whom only the discovery of new facts has value.

In order to counteract all those criticisms and misunderstandings to which Freud's psychology, because of its many changing forms, has been subjected, Hitschmann has published a book which may be called the first text book in psychanalysis. But it is scarcely anything more than a reference to Freud's most important writings, with connecting remarks concerning them.

Unfortunately critics have not been able to contribute anything toward elucidating what is really essential in this new direction. Even where the work has fallen into such good hands as, e. g. Isserlin's, it has remained pretty sterile. On the one hand

Freud's adherents say: "If you insist that we are mistaken, give us evidence of it." On the other hand his antagonists say, "It is not for us to prove fallacies, but for you to prove the truth." And there it remains. The usual way in which each empirical fact which an investigator declares he has arrived at, gives cause for after-examination by others before opinions are expressed concerning it, seems here to have little validity. During the last few years I have myself carried out many, more or less deep-going, analyses. I have in this way found confirmation of several opinions which *a priori*, seemed to me unbelievable; but, there are many others about which I hesitate, or which I am inclined to reject. Yet in every case Freud's great ingeniousness and sweeping importance have been more and more made clear to me.

To return to the case of Breuer, which laid the foundation for Freud's research, it will be remembered that it succeeded in making the patient free from severe hysterical symptoms by means of tracing their hidden casual-connections and bringing them back into her consciousness. Closer study led to the following general opinion regarding hysteria; the symptoms arise through the fact that in the consciousness, intolerable, emotionally emphasized experiences and imaginations are forced away, denied and made unconscious. This process Freud calls "Verdrängung." The term has since found its way

out into everyday speech and there keeps exactly the value Freud gave it. It is difficult to find a word which so exactly expresses his meaning in another language, but "repression" seems most suitably to convey the meaning in English, although it misses a little touch of the unconscious which lies in the word "Verdrängung." If one classes it as an indication for the process itself, a special word is needed to indicate the summing up of that which is forced out of the consciousness. It may be best to keep, in this connection, to the prevailing German term, complex. When in ordinary conversation we say that we force away our anger, it simply implies that we try to hinder its normal outlet. And it is just in this prevention of a releasing outlet, after which with innate power, the emotion immediately strives, that the building up of neurosis lies. Instead of breaking forth, being aired, being "abreacted," the emotion is suppressed. In its simpler form this process belongs to the experiences of everyday life. After some earnest discussion, it has surely happened to us all, that we have clenched our hands and gone away, smothering by sheer force of will, our desire to give our opponent a box on the ear. But the road from such everyday experiences, to a state of ill health is long. Many different circumstances must unite before a functional disease can be constituted upon the foundation of a repression. Above all the repression must come into conflict with some

sphere which has for the individual, the highest life-interest. Freud believes that there exists only one such sphere, viz, the sexual-life. Furthermore the complex must fall into soil fertile for the progress of disease. Here we reach the grave question of the importance of heredity for neurosis, of which Freud treats in a separate work. He therein opposes himself to what originated in Charcot's one-sided assertion, to the effect that heredity is the only essential cause of neurosis. Here there clearly exists a relative condition. The stronger the burden the less is needed to produce an illness. With a strong and thoroughly healthy individual, not even the most forceful sexual repression need mean illness. According to circumstances it may lead to the building of character, to artistic production, or something else of the kind. In other words, the forces which have been discarded to a place in the unconscious mind, need not seek a way out on the path of disease. They may rather be used in the service of life. This is the process which goes under the name sublimation. I shall refer to this later on.

Suppose now that an individual inclined to nervous suffering becomes subjected to sexual experiences from which he must free himself if he wishes to save his emotional life from becoming a prey to them. He believes he has succeeded when, in the struggle within himself, he arrives at that point where he no longer is consciously reminded of what has occurred;

when in other words, he separates the experience from the complex of memories, illusions, feelings, etc., which, collected, are called the ego. But in the hidden mind the overcome emotion may live on and its expansive forces may stretch their activities up into the consciousness and reach it in such form, that the connection between cause and effect is not even conjectured by the sufferer. Hence all that indeterminate restlessness, which so often strikes one as soon as one begins to talk with a neurotic; hence the sleeplessness, the anxiety dreams, the state of depression, etc.

Of especially great importance now, we must remember, is the fact that the tension on its way from its unconscious source to its release in disease, may undergo many alterations. The tension is in a way disconnected from the self; neither does it necessarily at its release, break out in those parts of the nervous system, the activity of which has intimate connection with conscious processes; it may immediately radiate upon nerve courses and show itself there in functional pains, paralyses, cramps, digestive disturbances, etc. Freud calls this process Conversion. No matter whether the disturbance in a given case, remains in the psychic sphere, or is transplanted to the nervous system, Freud carries it back to a constitutional moment. He says much about greater or lesser conversion-tendency. It is a matter of much consequence then, if, so to speak,

any organic grip is given to the unconscious tension. The organic path must in a way be staked out for the conversion; the organism must come to meet the strain. Through such conversion, for example, a lifelong neuralgia may start from a temporary toothache. I recall a patient who for six years was continually under local treatment by noted specialists, but who, nevertheless, grew continually worse. The psychic origin of the illness was entirely clear. The local changes had as a matter of fact played no other part than that of directing the conversion to the facial nerves.

Particularly often do the pains of occasional rheumatism play a part in such conversion. I had another patient who suffered from severe headaches, which she thought were of rheumatic origin, as she actually did suffer from that disease; but the chief cause of the headaches was sorrow for the loss of a sister. This sister had been afflicted with headaches caused by pernicious aenemia and my patient identified herself unconsciously with her. Always when local treatment for such suffering is not followed by freedom from pain, one should suspect that something psychic lies behind.

This conversion doctrine may seem strange to those who assume absolutely the physical point of view of all nervous disturbances. I will therefore say that I sometimes find patients who for themselves are successful in penetrating such connections. I

began once, e. g., to explain this thing to an intelligent woman, who suffered from severe neurotic pain. She interrupted me immediately by objecting: "That you do not have to explain, for I already understand it. I am unhappy and my mental suffering must localize somewhere; during my courses the pain localizes in those special parts: if anyone offends me I get palpitation of the heart,—so the pain finds a place in the heart; if there is no other place where it can settle its attacks my arm, because I broke it when a child and was tormented with massage for a whole year."

The repression doctrine originally concerned itself only with hysteria, but soon began to be applied also to other diseases,—compulsion-neuroses, anxiety-neuroses, perversities and dementia-praecox, among others. It was found upon investigation of these that analogous mechanisms play a great part in the repression. In these disturbances they would be more difficult to discover, partly because the repressed material undergoes greater changes before it arrives at its definite form as a disease symptom; partly because sick people of this kind are less approachable for deep-going psychic investigation; and before all because the repression as a cause of disease is here so interwoven with many other causal threads.

The whole of this doctrine was, as Freud himself pointed out, nothing new in principle. "The fact

is that the middle ages chose this solution when they declared possession of a devil as the cause for hysterical phenomena. It was only necessary therefore to insert modern scientific terminology in place of the religious expressions which were in use during this dark and superstitious time." So simultaneously with the scientific work there must also be founded a method of treatment better suited to our times than the medieval way of driving out evil spirits.

In the first stadium of the psychanalytical method of treatment the effort was to "abreact the repressed affect." Unconscious causes of illness should be traced and made conscious. The patient should again unite the ego-complex with what he had tried to force out of it. This could not often happen without suffering; the emotion bound up in the symptom was often made free; the anxiety, which had been, for example converted into neuralgia, again became anxiety. The treatment, therefore, often temporarily produced a change for the worse, sometimes led to serious crises. But it must at last lead to health; the symptom surely had its possibility for existence in the quality of the unconscious mind.

The original somewhat naïve belief in the absolutely saving virtue of the unconscious mind no longer holds together. On the contrary most people have a certain tendency to exaggerate in the opposite direction and throw away even what is valuable

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and lasting in such an idea. To me, however, there seems no doubt that the consciousness has an importance of this kind in mankind's struggle against destructive experiences. The effort so common with many people to flee away from life in fear, often leads them, without doubt, to a flight into illness,—as Freud expresses it. By freeing them from this fear, teaching them to look everything, even the most tragic experiences of life, straight in the eyes and to meet new misfortunes with open mind, by so doing, one surely will have made them stronger and sounder individuals. But naturally such a method of treatment has its decided limits. It, like every other one-sided attempt, must sooner or later be reduced to one of the many constituents of which general psychotherapy is made up.

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As to psychanalysis as a method, it is particularly difficult to give a clear presentation. To afford anyone a genuine conception of a technical method, with no material for demonstration, but solely by means of description, may perhaps be possible, in for instance, a case of intubation or some other operation, provided those concerned have all the anatomical and physiological fore-knowledge. But the situation is more difficult when the most complicated psychological interference is brought into

question. Without doubt much misdirected criticism has arisen through the fact that neurologists have looked at the matter solely *as* neurologists and so have been unable to judge this special field, which really has little to do with the pedagogic practice of neurology. Here comes in an important thing: it is by no means given to everybody to advance to genuine understanding of this subject. Psychology is finally based upon introspection. Objective experiences may complete our subjective experience but taken solely by themselves they can never give us real psychological knowledge. Without the natural analytical inclination and without having been accustomed since childhood in some degree, to make clear one's own life analytically, nobody can be taught to understand psychanalysis. It is often pointed out by analysts that no one ever goes farther in the analysis of another than he has gone in the analysis of himself. Where one is blocked in an analysis before clear comprehension has been gained, it is sometimes found that it does not depend upon the opposition of the patient, but upon the opposition within the analyst; the analyst has, in other words, come in contact with a common circumstance of life, which he has not dared to drag out into the light of day for himself, but before which he has fled in the usual neurotic way. Analytical practice demands of the doctor not only a highly intensified faculty for self-analysis but also a highly intensified

faculty for self-honesty. There are doubtless many who, because of this fact, beat a retreat in fright at the first collision with the difficulties that this method carries with it, and thereafter turn angrily against it. The great opposition toward the whole trend of the matter very likely has its root partly in this very fact. Here it is not a question of trying to break through opposition but of the making of conditions clear. Perhaps the originality of the procedure in some degree may be made more distinct for those analytically disposed; for the rest, this presentation of it will remain only a "jumble" as Ziehen expressed it, regarding psychanalysis in general.

As has already been mentioned, the first analyses were made during hypnosis and a few writers, as for instance, Muthmann, still ascribe to hypnosis a certain importance in this respect. Freud, however, soon entirely gave up hypnosis and most of his pupils have followed his example. The reason for this is as follows: the most difficult thing about analysis is the overcoming of the inner opposition behind which the unconscious seeds of illness lie defended. During hypnosis part of this opposition disappears. This is true. But the old opinion that the unconscious mind becomes approachable, without the control of the patient's will, is a great mistake. The laws of the conscious life continue to hold valid even in the deepest state of hypnosis. In using hypnosis it may easily happen that external opposition is passed by;

but afterwards there arises a wall which cannot be broken through. In carrying on analysis in the waking state it is true that in the beginning the progress is slow, but the way is thus better paved for a deeper advance.

During the waking life a stream of associations continually flows through the consciousness. This stream is more sharply defined the more the attention is directed upon one decided thing, but even during the most purposeful concentration, strange links of association often present themselves; solitary pictures which have nothing to do with our line of thought, become suddenly conspicuous and then again disappear. The more we dissociate the attention, just so much more numerous these unintentional thought-pictures become, and during sleep they take possession of our consciousness in the form of dreams. Generally we consider them as psychological accidents not worthy our attention, but they are the blending in of our unconscious life with the conscious actions and as such they are often worth the greatest interest. They often originate from repressed experiences which have maintained such a strong inner tension that they have power to break through even the strongest conscious thought-concentration. When during psychanalysis it simply means the bringing of these experiences to light, the ordinary streams of association are looked away

from and instead, attention is fixed upon those that are blended in with them.

To begin with, one tries to get the patient to disconnect the attention and to relate that which in a given moment, passed through his head. It was Freud's custom to lay his hand upon the patient's head and say "Now when I press with my hand a thought picture will present itself." By thus letting him search from one thought-picture to another he gradually got the chain of associations. He called this the "cathartic method." The first principle in such procedure, is the avoidance of the usual anamnestic cross-questioning as soon as the contour of the neurosis becomes clear. The patient is encouraged to speak freely about himself. It is explained to him that his illness is nothing but his unsuccessful effort to solve the conflicts of his life. It is wise, as quickly as possible, to obtain a fairly clear insight into this connection, in order that the patient may have a feeling that he is understood. This often solves the problem. "Whereof the heart is full thereof the mouth speaketh;" and the more the patient speaks, the better. When words run out of the patient without connection, one thing after the other, it is necessary to follow with the greatest care and sharpness, all links of associations in order to be able to select just those through which, without intention, he reveals something of import. It will not do to let such

material be lost and the patient must be encouraged to follow it up. One picture presents itself after another until recollections which have lain buried in the mind for decades again live before him. It strikes him that these had an importance of which he hitherto had not had the slightest inkling and this importance must be interpreted to him in detail. In this way one shadow after another is evoked from the hidden past. Told in this way, here in a few lines, the thing seems very simple. But in reality it often meets with the greatest difficulties for the very reason that it lies in the nature of neurosis to guard, with all the force of the patient's reserve, those secrets that lie at the foundation of the trouble. Opposition belongs to the disease. It is a common objection that one is acting against the will of the patient in trying to break through this opposition. On the contrary. He is helped to what he most earnestly desires, but which he cannot by himself attain. The neurotic is in the position of one who wants, but is unable, to love another; an indeterminate something hinders the free action of the feeling which really is there. Just as little as the opposition in such a case can be broken through by sheer force of will, just as little can this be done with the neurotic. The psychological problem is more involved than this.

For the purpose of facilitating the bringing to light of material which is the cause of a psychoneurosis, there are a few technical means of help at

our disposal. The most important among these is the dream-interpretation.

It is well known that those things which we try to suppress during the day, often come back in the dreams at night. So one initiated in dream interpretation, may often even find traces of things he has suppressed in the course of life. It was therefore natural that Freud in his search for inadvertant outbreaks of the unconscious life, should turn his attention especially to dreams. And so much the more because he was continually meeting with the relation of dreams during his analyses. Patients brought them to him in the same way they brought their real experiences. He also soon found that dreams were established in psychological processes as determining structures, like any other thought structure, only with the difference that they were built according to other principles than those which have to do with the waking life. The thing then was to discover these principles and learn how to decipher this strange sign-language. So originated that work, based upon far-reaching and tedious research, to which Freud gave the name "Traumdeutung." This has been followed, one might almost say, by nearly a whole library of the same description. The work is such a foundation for psychanalysis that it may be said that in its entirety the subject is encompassed in this single book. The ideas therein expressed have been worked out and applied in mani-

fold ways by his pupils; some lines even have been elaborated into a whole book,—for example, The Jones-Hamlet interpretation.*

If one considers the dream as it immediately appears before the consciousness, it ordinarily seems quite meaningless. This has given rise to all the old teachings, according to which the dream is only a conglomeration of dissociated ideas, originating through the fact that the somatic processes temporarily put the ruling mental apparatus into a state of irritation. If the dream is subjected to analysis, it takes on another signification. Dogmatic ideas concerning its want of meaning disappear and the importance of the body processes in the construction of dreams is considerably reduced.

If a person relates a dream and if he is then questioned as to what comes into his mind when he thinks of it, he will, as a rule, reply:—nothing. But circumstances are changed if the dream is separated into its elemental parts, and the person is then asked to think over each and every detail and to relate what each implies. It will so be seen that every dream-element will awaken lines of association out of the waking life's experiences. This is something which everyone may try for himself; there is no way in which it is possible to easier obtain a first insight into the nature of analysis. If an anxiety-dream is chosen, one gets at the same time some inkling of its

* See Freud, "Traumdeutung."

action; one experiences in this way how the anxiety disappears without a trace of it being left, during the analysis. After dissolving one element after the other, instead of the original meaningless dream-picture, there accumulates vastly multiplied psychic-material; and it is found that this dove-tails into an ingenious thought-structure,—perhaps sometimes, at first, with the help of a certain fantasy and always with certain flaws. Instead of the manifest dream-picture we now have the latent dream-content or dream-thoughts. When Freud arrived at this point in his investigations, he threw aside the original picture and the whole of his further study concerned itself with the at first unconscious, but now conscious, material, so changed about through analysis. This is something that must be constantly kept in mind, when Freud speaks about dreams. When, for example he declares that every dream is a sexual dream, he means only that the sexual life always hides itself in the depths of the constructive forces under the manifest pictures.

It would carry us much too far here to go farther into Freud's dream psychology. For the sake of connection, however, I must touch upon two questions with which it especially is concerned: 1. Whence originates the latent dream-material? 2. How are the manifest dream-pictures constructed out of this?

1. The material changes of course, to a great

extent in different dreams, but it is a thing to lay stress upon that it often, to an astonishing degree, originates in the childhood. Through this fact the dream attains a practical importance in being singularly able to complete that part of life which contains the largest gaps in memory.

2. Concerning the construction of dreams, it is first and foremost to be noted that the dream is not logically descriptive, but is symbolically represented: A simple picture of the difference between the way in which the waking consciousness relates something, and the dream way of so doing, may be obtained if the difference between a modern monument and one of the ancient Egyptian type is thought of. Upon the former is found an inscription of that which the stone commemorates, upon the latter is only a mass of figures and lines without evident connection; the meaning of these is only apparent when one learns how to interpret the pictures one by one and then puts the whole together. The dream in the same way draws one picture after another. Therefore a study of the dream-content means first the construction of the picture in itself and finally of the meaning hidden behind the symbol.

In regard to the first of these two points Freud considers that the construction of the dream arises through four psychological processes: 1. Condensation. 2. Displacement. 3. Dramatization. 4. Censoring.

Even with the most casual observation most people have probably noticed how, in a dream, two or more people commonly are fused into one. We may for instance, recognize some one in the dream whom we have seen the previous day, but while in reality he had a black mustache, in the dream he appears with a blond one and we find that the mustache is taken from some other man. In a similar way in the dream, a pair of eyes belonging to an animal may be seen in connection with a human being. The condensing process may be yet more involved; a landscape, a person, a piece of furniture, etc., may for instance, all be condensed in the same picture.

Displacement shows itself particularly in the fact that that which plays the chief rôle in the manifest dream-picture by no means has the same importance in the dream-thought, and, therefore in reality. This is most marked in the sphere of affects. Every one knows how an unimportant thing in the dream can be bound up with the strongest kind of an emotion, and how again one may in a dream, appear quite naked among others, without feeling the slightest disgrace. The affect is loosed from its real connection, transferred to some indifferent subject and fixed upon it.

The dream has an inclination to present everything in acoustic and visual pictures. It does not approve of the narrative form but is, in its essentials, dramatic.

Freud lays great stress upon the fourth point, censoring; although others especially Bleuler, finds its importance more doubtful. That a higher psychic court of appeal, censors that which a lower court produces, belongs to the experience of every day life. As an illustration, the following example may serve; a writer feels himself inspired and lets all that forces itself up through his consciousness flow forth from his pen. When later on he reads over what he has written he notices that it reveals his intimate life more closely than he desires. He then scores through a line here and there, replaces that which he had expressed directly, by symbols, hides himself behind fictitious figures, etc. His reflecting ego censors his spontaneous productive ego. In the same manner we always conduct ourselves when the outbreaks of the unconscious life during sleep, seek an outlet in our consciousness in the form of dreams. Even during the deepest sleep of the night, the sentries that guard our consciousness from repressed experiences do not slumber; if they cannot prevent these experiences from forcing a way in, they at least play such havoc with them that we no longer recognize them. This same inclination to censor, continues in the conscious mind when it is fully awake. If a person relates a dream, and if later on he is asked to write it down, it is a foregone conclusion that the written description will be more strongly censored than the related one. It is this

censoring which puts the keenness of the dream-interpreter to hardest proof.

But what complicates dream-construction most of all is the use of symbols. The study of symbolic presentations has more and more come into prominence. Freud soon discovered, when he turned his attention in this direction that symbolic speech by no means applies only to the dream. It is a common ingredient in the conscious mind and presents itself now here now there, in folk-lore, in witticisms, in slang, etc. Closer investigation has led to the following general opinion, the accounting for which I must here pass by: primitive man made use of symbols as a means of expression; later, our logical, descriptive speech was built up as a cultural superstructure upon this foundation. With this, however, the use of symbols has not disappeared. It remains in the waking consciousness as a fragmentary admixture; and what is far more important, it has remained in the unconscious mind as its means of expression. During sleep it again takes the lead in the presentation of our experiences. And when the developed consciousness is relaxed during periods of mental dullness it becomes once more the ruling force for the life of imagination. A significant point in the development of psychanalysis was Jung's presentation of the analogies between the fantasies of dements and the mythological and totemistic thought-products of primitive peoples.

In settling upon one single point in the Freud doctrines, which, in importance, exceeds all others he has brought to light, I should suggest his clear presentation of the connection between dream psychology and the process of the construction of neurosis. It has always been suspected that dreams had something to do with insanity. But until Freud's researches, this remained only a suspicion. His ingenuity was the first that succeeded in seizing upon and working out in detail this apparently inaccessible empirical material. Psychoneurosis is a flight away from reality into a world of illusion. And the neurotic takes with him into his waking life a part of this world of illusion; he finally at one point or another becomes influenced by the forces which rule this world. Some part of his psyche is not constructed according to the laws of the waking consciousness, but according to those rules which determine dream construction.

By giving the subject close attention, it will always be found that just those processes mentioned above, continually come back in the psychology of neurosis.

Condensation implies a synthesis between things that have no connection in substance, but are only united through more or less temporary associations. Such syntheses play a great part in the life of the neurotic, and treatment must often be directed toward

an effort to dissolve them, just as a mere temporary synthesis is broken up in the dream interpretation.

In the same way in which, during a dream, an affect is made free from its actual connection and transferred upon some indifferent thing, a neurotic becomes anxious if he is obliged to cross an open space, touch certain objects, be left alone in a room, etc. In what has been the usual treatment the effort has been to convince the patient that his anxiety is groundless,—a way that has nothing of the desired result, when the connection of the anxiety with the illusion in question has not at all been made clear in a logical manner. The psychanalyst first discovers where the anxiety had its origin and then makes clear why it has been loosed from this origin and in what way transferred upon some other unconcerned thing.

As to the dream's inclination to present everything in pictures, this also comes back here in a variety of ways. It is most striking in the question of the hallucination. The transference between hallucination and particularly vivid dream-pictures is often obvious.

That the neurotic in his struggle against the strain of repressed experiences, unconsciously makes use of the censor in a far reaching degree, is manifest. I recall for example, an elderly widow who had a perpetual hallucination of snakes; she suffered especially because the snake forced itself into her abdomen,

wriggled through the body up to her mouth and from there spat out its poison. The genuine suffering which she censored in this way, is so clear that it does not need to be pointed out. From this coarsest form there is a continual transference to that general mendacity which is so often met with in hysteria. This woman had so accustomed herself to unconsciously clear herself from her varied experiences by means of lies, that at last she was neither able to feel nor tell anything which was not entwined in lies. In coming across patients of this kind, the first thing to do is to make an effort to introduce truth into their lives.

The most weighty analogy between dream and neurosis-construction, according to Freud, lies in the wish motive. He is of the opinion that the dream always contains the realization of an unconscious wish, and, more decidedly, of a sexual wish. And he believes that the neurotic in a similar way, lives out his repressed impulses in the form of nervous symptoms. Unfortunately I can not here take up this point, which at first glance seems preposterous. It must be handled in a far broader connection and with a far deeper investigation into Freud's line of thought, than is possible here, in order to get any clear conception of what it implies. There is the less reason to stop at this disputed question, as the researches of later years seem to me to show the impossibility of supporting the idea as Freud

formulated it. I shall return to the subject in my last study.

* * *

In the present condition of things I believe it would be too rash to attempt to give a general verdict concerning psychanalysis as a method of treatment. Altogether too much is going on in that direction to make possible a centralization of one's impressions. I shall therefore confine myself to certain comments.

Above all I believe that it is a fallacy not to separate psychanalysis as a science from psychanalysis as a method of treatment.

While it is now called a therapeutic agent, it is nevertheless of a kind that also yields scientific fruit. So it may easily happen sometimes, that it is the deference to science and not to the patient which is the deciding factor in the use of this method; when the psychanalysis of a single case is spoken of as something which must stretch itself out over years, this point of view must be taken into consideration. The thing is placed in quite another light, if treatment of the patient is altogether the object in view. When analysis fits itself in as a moment in that unfoldment which is expected from the treatment, even if this moment in a given case, is the chief thing, still it is not necessary to go to

those lengths described in the literature upon the subject, nor is it necessary to overload the analysis with all those details which only serve to make it repellant.

It has already been pointed out that a kind of uncertainty is inherent in this method of treatment and that it can scarcely be freed from the subjective element. In this respect psychanalysis has, and probably always will have, a stamp of art. The sculptor may hit upon a likeness, which will astonish everyone who has any feeling for art; but he cannot, by measuring, weighing, registering, etc., demonstrate that likeness. In a similar way, the psychanalyst may give a picture of the whole play of unconscious forces, of which the visible result is a sick human life, and those concerned may in their innermost hearts, feel that this picture is the true one. It is in this feeling that the criterion of truth finally lies. All efforts to attain other, more scientific evidence become more or less illusory. This may seem a weak point which would plainly reduce the value of psychanalysis. But it is a question if the same weak point does not and must not always be incidental to all higher psychology. Just as soon as we try, for example, to force it into the physiological method we put it into a kind of straightjacket within which it must be stifled. If this is true, generally speaking, it must be especially so when investigation tries to reach out toward the almost

inaccessible domain of the unconscious mind. For here furthermore, are complicated all those circumstances, which make it impossible to fix a measurable value upon the inconsistencies of the human mind; —here all the different expressions of the struggling forces cross each other in such confusion, that procedures which are admirable in the simple phenomena of life, become unfit for use. The mapping out of the unconscious world must be done in accordance with personal methods.

It is wise to keep always in mind that the scientific purpose of psychanalysis, is simply the conquest of the unconscious world and the thorough investigation of it in all directions. In making a comparison of the earlier works concerning this unconscious world, it is soon noticeable that to the investigator it was the great mystery, out of which peculiar phenomena such as automatic writing, the speaking with tongues, etc., broke forth into consciousness and were thus made approachable for research. Psychanalysis is the unveiling of the mystery. The analyst strives to find the connection between the unconscious forces and the shaping of life in general. In an educational way, his goal is nothing less than to make free the individual from all that obscurity and uncertainty which entangles his life.

The opposition which the ordinary psychanalytical results of research awaken at first acquaintance, may very largely depend upon the difficulty of

keeping in mind that they concern unconscious conditions. If a person, who neither in thought nor in action is guilty of misdemeanor, should be accused for example, of being homosexual, it would seem infamous. But it takes on quite another aspect if the accusation only implies that in the depths of the unconscious life, there exists a difficulty in freeing the sexual life from the sex of the person in question, a difficulty which, in a very roundabout way, has come into the consciousness in the form of attacks of anxiety, the connection of which with the sexual life, neither the patient himself nor his friends have in the slightest degree suspected. Before Freud's declaration that the child is a polymorphic pervert, everyone shrinks back as from a horrible attack upon the much prized innocence of childhood. But nothing hinders a child, so far as its consciousness reaches, from being lovable, well brought up, free from any exhibition of sexuality in the usual meaning of the word and yet analysis may nevertheless show traces of polymorphic perversity in the depths of the unconscious mind. Far more offensive than such declarations in themselves, I consider the scientific light-mindedness with which they are sometimes given out. In reading over the literature on this subject, one not infrequently is amazed at the rashness with which so-called authorities proclaim, that behind this and that conscious product must be hidden, this or that unconscious circumstance. It is

true that in psychanalysis it is very hard always to drag along the proof-material one has at hand; on this account a better idea of responsibility is obtained through personal discussion than through the literature. But it surely would be beneficial to science if more careful, slower consideration were accorded the subject.

It is necessary to rightly comprehend the method with all its peculiarities, defects and merits, before making an estimation of the doctrines of psychanalysis. Because these are, (and this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized), no theories, but the method's direct empirical result. In order not to be overwhelmed by their many changing forms and constantly growing mass, I shall touch only upon some single and relatively settled points.

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As has been said already the system arose in connection with the study of the mechanism of repression. Its further development and application have also primarily dealt with this. This has, however, led to the discovery of a number of other psychic-mechanisms, which have importance in the construction of neurosis and appear to be fruitful for the study of the subject.

The technical term used to signify the psychic material which differs from repression is, as I have

said, complex. Further study has to do with the structure of complexes. Just as the conscious affect in a certain degree is a psychic principle of construction, in that it directs the attention toward a decided point, gathers to itself associations from some sources, with the passing over of others, so the repressed affect from the conscious mind may be the starting point for psychic productions. In the course of passing years, far reaching changes occur in this way.

Freud considers that the characteristics for hysteria lie in the fact that the repression had its place farther back in life and underwent changes before it became constituted as a disease. He separates therefrom those conditions in which the patient reacts with nervous symptoms against an actual checking of the sexual relief. Through analytical research it has thus come to light, that the starting point for a neurosis may be far removed from its point of out-break and that the original injury may be so widely separated from the neurotic symtomatology, that no one before-hand can suspect the connection. In traumatic neurosis the chain of circumstances between the trauma and the nervous symptoms are, as a rule, obvious. But if the trauma lies twenty years back and psychically changes during the stress of this period's mental-stratification, the causation threads may be a very much entangled skein. It is one of Freud's greatest merits that he

has succeeded in bringing about the first effort toward the disentanglement of this skein.

In beginning the examination of a neurotic, it is soon noticeable that the trouble did not originate according to the manner in which the patient first makes explanation of it. Every symptom has had some prior disturbance upon which it has taken hold. Disease must, like everything else, have some foundation upon which to build; otherwise every attempt at construction would collapse. Suppose as an example that a person is exposed to some affect which makes him a victim to insomnia. As soon as the affect disappears, sleep again returns; the disturbance cannot constitute itself as an illness unless it can revive the hidden traces of an earlier disturbance and add itself to these. It may seem as if the step were a very long one from such an experience as this to Freud's categorical sentence: "All neuroses have their foundations laid before the fifth year of life." Nevertheless there may be much truth in his opinion. It seems very probable that life must already in the earliest years of childhood, have been misdirected, if one later on becomes a victim to serious neurosis. However this does not mean as much as it may appear to mean. There are surely not many children who escape injuries and conflicts and yet whose lives from the beginning take the right track. And naturally Freud's proposition must not be turned around. By far the greater number of

infantile injuries are compensated for during development or at least remain somnolent, unless they are brought to life again by later deep-seated suffering.

For the sake of greater clearness it may be suitable to illustrate the connection between infantile trauma and neurosis with an example. I shall choose one which has the advantage of being schematically simple.

I was once consulted by an unmarried woman of twenty-two years of age. She looked well and had no appearance of hysteria in the usual meaning of the word. She complained of a series of nervous symptoms; general restlessness, at times amounting to anxiety, especially connected with thoughts concerning her heart which she feared would suddenly stop beating,—the attacks coming on with lack of breath and strangling,—choking feeling in the throat; after eating she was overcome by a painful sensation of heat in the whole body which lasted for hours at a stretch; difficulty in walking any distance,—as her legs gave way beneath her so that she was obliged to quickly board a street-car in order to get home. Regarding the origin of these symptoms she knew nothing more than that two years before she had been to the theatre with a cousin and was there suddenly overcome by a feeling of suffocation. Since then the symptoms had accumulated one after the other. All inquiries after further causation were

fruitless. All treatment had been, hitherto, unsuccessful.

The result of the analysis was as follows:—when the patient was between four and five years old, her family dwelt in the fourth story of a house in the city. One afternoon there was an explosion, fire broke out on the ground floor and spread terror through the whole house. The smoke forced itself up the stairway. The patient remembers how her father carried her out upon the stairs and kicked out a pane of glass that they might not be smothered by the smoke.

In realizing how a sensitive child reacts from such a shock, it is easy to see that the patient's whole symptom-complex is nothing but a reproduction of this experience. The fear of strangling, the breathlessness, the choking, the attacks of heat,—everything is a direct copy. The shock also had had a paralyzing effect, so that her legs gave way under her. The fact that the father carried her, perhaps also had been brought in, to suggest the feeling that she could not walk.

How is one now to be sure that such interpretation is right? In the first place the patient recognized the connections. She experienced a feeling of relaxation similar to that one has if one has forgotten a word and then suddenly recalls it. In the second place I was able to find a whole series of symptoms and accidental sensations to which the

patient attached little importance, but which proved that this childhood trauma had lead up to the condition of illness. In the third and most important place; ex juvantibus. Simultaneously with this clearing up of the past, the symptoms underwent an important change. They diminished or entirely disappeared; even if a few continued to be recalled, they had not the same power over her, but were looked upon by her as mere unimportant matters.

The significance of the origin of this neurosis, must not however be exaggerated. Underneath it very probably, lay still deeper infantile sources and it is certain that during adolescence injuries had been added, due to which, the already suggested shock was able to bring about the neurotic condition. In the investigation of these things, we must always come into touch with the most intimate life of the patient and that this must be handled with the greatest delicacy of feeling is self-evident. The youth of this patient had been made unhappy because of her father's infidelity to her mother, concerning which, just at the time of the outbreak of the neurosis, she had become fully aware. At this outbreak, there occurred accidentally a union of this source with that derived from childhood. Upon the evening in question at the theatre, the patient had seen Ibsen's "Ghosts." No play can be more suited to stir up the despair of a young girl over the infidelity and frivolity of a father. When I now

asked at what part in the play she had had her first attack, she burst into a hearty laugh, as if in relief at seeing some clear light ahead. She plainly recalled that it was at that part where the fire accident is spoken of. The theme of the play itself had thus set the patient's own suffering in a quiver, causing a mental tension of such force that it had to have outlet. When therefore came a cue which, through associations, disrupted those nervous sensations originating from the fire-complex, the strain broke out on the path already staked out for it and converted this at the same time, into a channel for suffering; every new strain was thus converted in a similar way,—that is to say, it sought an outlet on the road of least resistance. Instead of for example, being accompanied now by sorrow and repulsion, every meeting with her father was followed by an attack, such as has been described in the symptomatology of the case.

The construction of the neurosis had surely not come about so simply as it appears from this description. Just as behind the childhood-trauma might have been found a deeper source for it, so behind the experience during adolescence, might the same thing have been discovered. The determining importance of this fact is obtained at the instant when these experiences could be connected with the patient's own inner conflicts. Freud believes that back of every neurosis, without a single exception, lies the

sexual-life; that this is the only real producing force in life; that without the assistance of its piled-up energy, no circumstance could cause permanent disturbance of the soul-life or of the nervous system. The patient returned to me some months after the treatment which I gave her, complaining of a condition of general restlessness. She herself understood, or at any rate suspected, the connection of this restlessness with a restraint of the course of her sexual-life; she had been engaged to be married for some months but there was no prospect of the marriage taking place for years to come. I had no doubt that these facts had a determining value in regard to the return of the hysterical symptoms.

It is not possible to understand Freud's assertion of the great importance of the sexual life in the building up of neuroses, without first having a comprehension of his sexual doctrine in its whole meaning.

Freud believes that sexual impulses originally arise through the spontaneous yearning back of the child to the mother-body from which it came.

No doubt most of those to whom this cardinal proposition is new, are at once ready to condemn the whole doctrine as an absurdity. It can surely not be his meaning that the sexual-life itself has its root in an incestuous impulse which we are accustomed to consider as the extreme of sexual pathology! Nevertheless that is what he means. In

passing I may mention that I have discovered a predecessor of Freud's in this dreadful modern idea. Our great master, Luther, who in matters sexual was a man extraordinarily experienced, expresses himself in Chap. 20, § 27 in Tischreden: "So wenig man des Essens und Trinkens entbehren und gerathen kann, so unmöglich ist es auch, sich von Weibern zu enthalten: denn wir können durch natürliche Begierde allermassen uns nicht davon entäussern. Die Ursache ist, dass wir in die Weiber Leibe empfangen, darinnen ernährt, davon geboren, gezeugt und erzogen werden, also, dass unser Fleisch das meiste Theil Weiberfleisch ist, und ist unmöglich uns von ihnen ganz abzusondern."

In this utterance is already found the connection between the sexual-life of the adult and all that sphere of phenomena which concerns the child's original connection in regard to the mother. It is here that the center of gravity of Freud's sexual doctrine lies. According to Luther, the impulse has its cause in the fact that, figuratively speaking, we are never able to entirely cut off the navel-string. For Freud this prolonged resolvent of the bodily connection and all the complications that may arise therefrom, plays a dominating rôle.

The intense longing of the child for the mother, its anxiety in the mother's absence, its refusal to sleep if it cannot rest in the mother's arms, etc.,—all these features which with the new-born always

crop up, are thus an expression of the primary sexual-life. Over the abyss which separates this from the turbulent longing of the man and the woman for each other, Freud has thrown the bridge of sexual development. I must limit myself to a schematic description of the most significant steps upon this bridge.

The first attempt toward disentanglement from the mother occurs when the child teaches itself to give way on its own account to those pleasurable sensations, which hitherto it has felt only in connection with the mother's body; when e. g. it sticks its thumb into its mouth in place of the nipple and so learns to go to sleep alone. Through this act the ground is broken for that phenomenon, for which Freud accepted Havelock Ellis' term "autoerotism." Under this caption are gathered together all efforts to set free sensations of pleasure, with the assistance of the own body. This occurs in many different ways. Freud has especially pointed out the importance of the anal region in this respect and created that esthetically extraordinarily revolting idea of the analerotic. For the child everything it discovers and every new sensation, has interest. In its unconscious innocence it defines nothing, as an adult does. That the anal function as a source of pleasure with children is often much accentuated, is something that has come to the notice of many who

have had to do with children. And that a false synthesis may be formed between this source of pleasure and the sexual sources, is not astonishing if the close bodily connection of the organs is considered—it means only a psychic analogy to the physical fact. It is also indubitable that in neurosis one meets relatively often with such a synthesis existing from the childhood and that it plays a certain part, not only in the formation of symptoms, but also in the development of character. There is some truth in Freud's opinion that certain features of character may be taken as reactions against this disturbance. The hot attack to which Freud was subjected on account of his doctrines regarding analerotism may perhaps in a measure be authorized. He makes himself guilty of some exaggeration. But on the other hand this attack against him was made very largely because he touched upon an especially sensitive point in the emotional life. The question may be raised, if just this contact between the lowest impulses, the most material sphere, and that other sphere in which our highest, most sublime emotions are bound up, is not one of the foundations for man's burdensome feeling of being earth-bound. Does not all talk of the erotic as something foul, originate through a lack of understanding of this tragedy? Whatever may be said about Freud's position in the question, it will always be counted to his credit, that he did not hesi-

tate to present, with indomitable scientific honesty, what he believed he had discovered in this appalling abyss of the psychic life.

The first step toward disentanglement from auto-erotism is taken when the individual begins to search after an external object, with the help of which the sexual forces may be outwardly projected. That a strong attraction to the opposite sex may arise during early life is well known. But usually only certain phases of development can be traced before the hetero-sexual pursuit becomes of chief importance. The sexual-life first seizes what lies nearest at hand, —that is to say, the general objectification of the own personality in the ego. This period is called "narcissism." It reveals itself consciously through the flaming up of the "I" complex, that overestimation of self, that loss of consideration for others, that is characteristically woven into the critical period of youth.

The next step makes an attempt to compensate this objectification of self with an unfamiliar person. There is still shyness and backwardness between the sexes, but there is the beginning of the feeling of admiration in the being together with comrades. Externally the sexual undercurrent reveals itself through enthusiastic admiration of friends, teachers and so on.

Puberty here first comes upon that great revolution through which the infantile sexual sources are

gathered together into one single channel, and life takes on definite form; all sensations of pleasure, all emotional inclination to over-estimate, all enthusiastic devotion, is bound up in the opposite sex.

Hand in hand with this development proceed three processes of basic importance:—repression, transference, sublimation. Each change occurs because the individual represses the dominating sexual form, transfers the sexual impulses to a new object and changes a part of them to a source of energy for remote cultural purposes.

That sexual development is the hardest test for a human being must indeed be considered a universally accepted truth. Looked at from this point of view an answer as to why conditions are as they are, is given. The enormous unconscious work each one must accomplish in order to lead unfoldment toward its goal, is then understood, as well as what danger there is that all this work may go astray. The danger lies not only in the fact that the repression may thus fix upon one or another perversity; it also lies in the fact that the individual in this struggle must use up so large a part of his forces, that little power remains for the rest of life. The most common disturbances arise because of partial failure. The repression appears to be carried out, but it is so weakly organized that it again works loose because of conditions from without, which threaten to break through; the individual must time after time assem-

ble his forces in order to reinforce them. It may perhaps, without exaggeration, be said, that unfoldment never comes about in an ideal way. In each one is left some unhealed wound, some weak point. Only the very strong reach a point where the impulses are centralized and that entire emancipation which is the final goal. And what here gives aid is a constitutional transcendency in transference and sublimation. On the other hand it is lack of these qualities that above all are distinguishing marks in the weak and that more than anything else predestines them to insanity.

According to Freud, one always in analysis comes upon some disturbance of the sexual unfoldment which is the nucleus of the complex. The farther the analysis is carried, just so much more established becomes the fact that the disturbance is one of primary sexuality. He has even declared that the most remote thread may always be traced back to the original incestuous desire, and he has therefore called this the nucleus complex of neurosis.

It would thus appear that neuroses in their deepest state of existence ought to be built up of pretty much the same material. The great, apparent fertility of variation in them, might thus arise because similar complexes grow out in different ways according to individuality and contingencies, before they acquire conscious formation. Upon the basis of this opinion Freud has also tried to work out the symp-

tomatology of neuroses. Earlier, when the sexual trauma of childhood held his special interest, he probed the doctrine that the passive experience—seduction,—led to hysteria—the active experience—i. e. the aggression—to compulsion-neuroses. He tried in this way to explain why hysteria is more usual among women, compulsion-neuroses among men. He wished to make probable that the libidinous fixation upon a certain point of the scale of unfoldment led to a certain form of disease. If the individual does not succeed in lifting himself out of autoerotism, or if he uses up all his vitality in the struggle against it, a blockade from without takes place, because it is chiefly through the projecting of the sexuality outwards, that we learn to direct our forces towards the external world; thus the unsuccessful individual is doomed to burn up these forces within himself—; the final result being dementia. This is only a hint of that remodelling of diagnoses, which more profound insight into functional disease processes may finally carry with it.

If this sexual teaching is true, we should here stand before the disclosure of something so fearful, that a parallel has hitherto surely never been found in the development of human knowledge. Thus each one who is born possesses, according to nature's own order, in-dwelling powers, which may cast him into crime, perversity, insanity and nervous suffering, unless, after a struggle of decades, he succeeded

in becoming master. And in case he does succeed, he nevertheless wanders upon a thin crust of earth, over volcanic forces, which, under unfavorable conditions, may give way and undo all the work he had accomplished. Is it strange that the whole world of learning hurled anathema upon the author of such a doctrine?

I shall point out in passing that a kind of inkling of this same idea has, however, been buried in the folk-consciousness, from very ancient times. It is most plainly traceable in tragic poetry. Freud has done nothing but take the scientific road to the same goal, which in former times was taken by intuition, self-analysis, and fantasy. I shall give the most common example of this.

The nucleus complex of neurosis in the literature, also is given the name Œdipus-complex, because this old tragedy is only a plastic presentation of the incestuous primary impulse and the succumbing of the hero to it. As is well known, the circumstances are as follows:

Laius, King of Thebes, was expecting a child by his Queen, Jocasta. The oracle was consulted concerning this event. The answer given was that the child must be exposed to the elements as otherwise he would grow up to murder his father and marry his mother. As soon as Œdipus was born, he was thus exposed. But his life was saved by a chance and he was brought up at a foreign court. When he was

grown, he started out upon a wandering journey, was attracted toward Thebes, and upon the road fell in with a man, with whom he picked a quarrel and whom he, as a consequence, murdered. This man was Laius. Œdipus went on to Thebes, succeeded in solving the riddle of the Sphinx, and was proclaimed king by the Thebans. He married the widow of Laius, his own mother. A pestilence then broke out in the land, and when questioned as to what should be done, the oracle replied that the murderer of Laius should be traced and driven away. Thus everything came to light. In despair Œdipus put out his eyes, etc.

Back of this symbol is discovered a fearful potentiality within the man, Œdipus, which contrary to all human actions and all his conscious effort, drove him straight to a certain point. This power has been called fate and the meaning of the tragedy has been considered to be the impotence of mankind against fate. But analysis removes this blind compelling force, from the sphere of the external world to that of the human mind; fate is nothing but the most deeply hidden unconscious complex. Œdipus was engulfed in it because he neither succeeded in forcing it so deep down into Orcus that its power was stifled, nor in throwing his consciousness about it in such a way that he became its master.

In paying close attention to children, it is sometimes possible to discern detached remnants of this

motif back of their chatter and games. It is not so uncommon,—I have at least heard several examples of it—that a small boy lets something like this escape him: "When I am big I am going to marry mother." And if anyone then explains that such a thing will be impossible because father is already married to mother, the answer very often will be: "Then I shall kill father!" The child does not appreciate life and death in the same way we do. It looks upon these things rather as our earliest ancestors did. "Out of the way" it shouts from the saddle of its rocking horse, "or I'll ride over you!"

As a rule we laugh at such episodes of the nursery. But behind them may lurk complexes with which the grown boy or girl must fight, and which later on may throw a shadow over the whole life,—breaking out at last perhaps, in the form of neurotic symptoms.

That we still today can be seized by the Œdipus tragedy and react to it, Freud believes to be dependable upon the idea that it touches that portion of our inner selves, which in spite of thousands of years of repression work, cannot be wholly brought into a state of rest.

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Against the background of these suggestions concerning psychanalysis as a science, I shall now at-

tempt to indicate a few of the most valuable therapeutic points of view.

Since, where science was concerned it showed that, in conformity with all higher psychology, it could not free itself from a certain subjective-artistic quality, so this must be all the more pronounced where therapy is concerned. Psychotherapy generally is something different in the hands of every physician, unless he limits his activity to dogmatic plagiarizing from some predecessor. Some "authorities" continue to totally condemn psychanalysis. In so doing they place themselves outside the development of the science of medicine. Already this thing has reached a point where each one must reckon with it, just as with suggestion. The question is then, where and how it should be installed in the therapeutic procedure. The most earnest disciples of Freud are entirely taken up in the analysing; for those who go to the opposite extreme, psychanalysis means only a throwing aside of the usually accepted form, and an effort to look upon case-histories from the patient's own standpoint; i. e. from within. Freud's enemies are not likely to dispute his merit in teaching us to look upon neuroses and insanity in their connection with life and its conflicts.

As has been said before, the idea of abreaction was originally the fundamental principle of this therapy. It was chiefly the developing of the sexual

doctrine that brought a new point of view to this method of treatment. If it is true that a represented sexual desire always lies at the base of a neurosis, how then can any psychic treatment at all be taken into consideration? Even if a clear understanding is to be preferred to all that tangle of lies and illusions, in which people become enmeshed in order to escape the fact of sexuality, this, as such, does not permit itself to be "abreacted." It is very easy to suspect that analysts might, in such case, choose a way out, by advising, as many physicians do advise, sexual congress at any and all times as a cure for neurosis. It is indeed possible that such advice sometimes is given by analysts. But Freud himself believes that advice of this kind very seldom may be suitable. He cautions against what he calls "wild analyzing" and holds himself strongly aloof from those followers of his teachings who offend him in this respect. For my own part I believe that this brutal simplification of the problem is absolutely condemnable from a therapeutic point of view. The sexual act is relieving only if it is called forth by an inner yearning, and if it is accompanied by a feeling of joy,—not if it is practiced by command. I recall a woman of twenty-one years of age, who had suffered for six years from a nervous disturbance of the bladder and who was advised by a doctor to try this means of relief. She came to a colleague after a while, this time afflicted with gonorrhea. The blad-

der trouble had become plainly more pronounced. After some weeks of suggestive treatment it entirely disappeared. In this case the sexual act had only been a shock, as it may often be under similar circumstances.

It is not at all upon the gross material liberation of the sexual impulses that relief depends. What essentially brings about forms of neuroses is not direct sexual restraint; it is the conflict between the inclination and the inner opposition, that stands in the way of freedom; the conflict between the will to love and the incapacity to love. As long as this inner opposition exists, every physical sexual act is only something more overwhelming, which adds to the nervous tension and becomes manifested in neurotic symptoms. This opposition is often a psychological product that is accessible for analytical dissolution. There is thus a point upon which the physician may apply his aid. The breaking down of inner opposition is also a valuable part of the treatment. But this is not the place to further enlarge upon this fact. However there is one objection which is often made upon which I must touch. The very word "opposition" arouses in many people the idea of compulsion, and they look upon the whole thing as if it were some form of spiritual torture. A psychologist who believes that psychic opposition may be broken by means of harsh treatment, is surely not an analyst. Even if this could happen, it would

never be a question of any other harshness than that which was in accord with the patient's own innermost desire. One patient who could speak of himself only with the greatest difficulty, begged me to promise never to let him go before he had said all those things which he was incapable of saying by himself.

But this inner resolution is only a part. Supposing it is successful, the forces thus made free must have some outlet in order that they may be prevented from again turning themselves back towards the production of disease.

In speaking about the sexual unfoldment, I said that it goes hand in hand with three psychological processes, viz: repression, transference, and sublimation. Upon the first of these the ordinary suggestion-treatment gets in its work. This means often only a support of the normal repression, so that it may become successful. The patient may thus be able to force away thought-pictures, forget sorrows, concentrate the mind upon work, etc.

Freud places the therapeutic center of gravity upon the second point. All psychological curative action takes place through transference, according to his belief. The cramped and erring sexual impulses must be carried over upon new objects. Others believe that all psychic treatment ought to be concentrated upon the last point—sublimation. The sexual-life can not be definitely forced back; its di-

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rect liberation can occur only through circumstances of life which lie outside the physicians' field of action. The only way in which the individual, independent of outside conditions, can save himself, is through turning his forces toward cultural ends.

The simplest and purest form of sublimation is poetry. Its connection with the deepest of earthly forces has indeed, been well known in all times. What poets do,—that is to say, what those who write because some power within drives them to it,—is only to bring repressed desires to light by means of self-analysis, and to make them sublime in thoughts, dramatic figures, legendary symbols, etc.

Sophocles was able through some such process to free himself from his Œdipus-complex. If we, as physicians, are consulted by an individual, who is about to give way before some unconscious force, it is our duty to help that one to some similar kind of inner redemption. Naturally we can not make every one a poet in the usual meaning, but the rescue may be brought about in many ways. In poetry the complexes are transplanted directly to an external work, which gives a clear vision and upon which the passions, so made free, are directly transferred. This combination is certainly not a necessity. The external labor may be of any kind suited to the individual. Thus analytical treatment and the therapeutics of work, here form a point of contact. A clear out-look is obtained through conversation with

the analyst. As to the passions which have been made free, they should as directly as possible seek a natural outlet. The analytical disentanglement should so work out that the patient's love may become stronger than ever for all that he has once loved before; thus a married woman may, with renewed earnestness, turn to the guardianship of her home, her children, etc.

With this treatment therefore, the effort is one of instructing the patient regarding the freedom of the inner-self,—the difficult art of spiritual emancipation. The part here played by the personality of the analyst ought to be the same as that played by instructors in general.

* * *

Medical research has its greatest importance in the fact, that because of added knowledge concerning the inception of disease, we are able to take means towards its prevention. In single, fully developed cases, conditions are often such that no retracing of steps is possible. But by obtaining accurate information about such cases we may perhaps prevent a similar state in some other individual. This is particularly true in the research of psychanalysis. The prophylactic hope it awakens is of several kinds.

If, as Freud believes, a great many neurotic symptoms are only sexual symbols, through which patients procure for themselves a kind of freedom

from suffering, the symptoms must disappear with the unveiling of the condition. Freud points out that we have seen something like this in the Madonna-hallucinations of Roman Catholic countries. As long as people generally credited the reality of these visions they were common; when the phenomenon is now put under the rubic of hysteria it has lost its value and disappeared;—the way for the outlet of the unconscious forces is thus destroyed. Naturally the suffering itself does not disappear, but only that form of it capable of being explained.

Application of these new experiences to pedagogics, seems to be more momentous. Now that it is shown that neurosis begins in childhood, it must become one of the first duties, in the bringing-up of the child, to keep it free from the mass of injurious influences, the import of which hitherto has not been estimated. For example a woman of forty-seven years came to me, who had suffered periodically from insomnia during her whole life. As a little child she had wakened in the night in terror and could not again go to sleep, unless she was allowed to creep into her sister's bed. Here insomnia was founded because the child was not taught from the very start to sleep alone,—and this mistake had never afterwards been rectified. When she came to me, the last period had lasted without relief for the three years during which she had been a widow. In the constant contact with such circumstances, which easily might

have been changed in childhood, it is not possible to avoid the feeling that much suffering could be prevented. I also recall a girl of ten, who lay sleepless night after night in the greatest anxiety, unless the mother sat beside her and held her hand until she fell asleep. After one week's hypnotic treatment this habit was broken and the child had learned to go to sleep alone. The importance of this treatment chiefly lay in the fact that a foundation was taken away upon which otherwise, in all probability, a chronic insomnia would have grown up. I could easily present many such examples from my own experience.

To me the most important of the means we have for forestalling neuroses, seems to be an early training in the exercise of a capacity for sublimation. A person, in whose nature the different roads upon which his forces may find an outlet have been broken open ever since childhood, and who can reach a certain degree of freedom in tune with his surroundings, in feeling for others, work, etc.,—has quite different means at hand for overcoming destructive forces, than has one who is dominated by the compulsion of sexuality. And that it is possible here to find a decided line of direction for the wavering pedagogics of our times, I have a lively conviction.

* * *

After these hints concerning psychanalysis in its scientific and in its therapeutic form, I shall pass on

to a part which has to do with the pressing question of the practical physician; the indications for such treatment, the results hitherto reached, eventual dangers, etc. These questions, however, even less than the foregoing, can be handled to any great degree of satisfaction in the present state of affairs.

Concerning indications for treatment, it is above all to be remembered, that this, far more than with any psychic method, is arranged according to the individuality of the patient and not according to his illness. All who have not, like the insane, lost contact with the world, ought to be approachable in some degree by suggestive influence. But many less can be inspired with the clear and conscious outlook upon life, which is the purpose of psychanalysis. This method puts considerable demand upon the intelligence and character of the patient, upon his will to be well. Those whose education is superficial, who think themselves capable of understanding everything, but who have not the ability of penetrating to the bottom of anything, are eliminated as a matter of course. The most suitable patient for this method of treatment is the cultured individual who has reached a dead-lock half-way in the inner struggle after clearness and truth.

The neuroses which hitherto have accorded the best results from this treatment, fall chiefly within the rather diffused limits of hysteria, and compulsion and anxiety neuroses. Of these results no precise

statistics can be obtained and if one searches diligently it is even difficult to place them in the ordinary medical columns under "cured, improved, unimproved." Most of those who come for treatment have been ill since childhood, and their nervous systems have been powerless to bear the burden of all that has been heaped upon them during the course of years. Through analysis much of this burden falls away and at the same time, through an extension of the consciousness, comes an added power to bear. In the best cases this may mean health. At least some times I have heard patients say that after the treatment they have grown healthier than at any time before it. But in most cases it means only an aid—and it may have great importance indeed, as such, if it implies a regained faculty for work, even if the suffering remains. Nevertheless we can already assert, that illnesses are cured by analysis which formerly were considered hopeless. I have myself, for example, published the description of one case, wherein a paranoical system of persecution of ten years' standing, was entirely broken up, and of which not a trace of recurrence has appeared, during the six years which have elapsed since the conclusion of the treatment.*

The hot opposition with which psychanalysis meets, is most often accounted for by the idea that it implies great danger. People are of the opinion

* See pp. 248-297.

that this prolonged digging into sexual details must do harm, that changes for the worse are seen very frequently after treatment and that these have directly led to suicide, etc.

How this may be is difficult to decide. It is in the nature of the treatment that it can not always progress as happily as, for example, does the ordinary treatment by suggestion. A clear vision cannot be won sometimes without severe crises of self-examination, revealed in a commotion, which superficially observed may be looked upon as a change for the worse. It may easily happen that during such times, the ground sways under the patient, and he blames the doctor for robbing him of that upon which he had lived, without giving him anything in its stead. It may also easily happen that the doctor overestimates his ability for bringing about the desired evolution. And it must be remembered that sometimes the neurosis itself is the best of those evil possibilities, from which the patient had to choose, in a determining situation in his life. By depriving him of this, conditions are not bettered in such cases. The whole opens out only a deeper understanding of life's tragedy; and the value of this may perhaps be open to doubt.

Naturally suicide has been committed during the course of psychanalytical treatment, just as it has during care in sanatoria or during rest-cures. The question is, if the suicide can be brought into psycho-

logical connection with the treatment. I have myself, lacked experience in this field. Theoretically it should be acknowledged that this possibility is not precluded. The neurosis, as has been said, sometimes may be a kind of safety-wall against worst eventualities than itself; to these eventualities suicide belongs. It may therefore be thinkable that after the destruction of the safety-wall, the forces could compel such a catastrophe. I have difficulty however in believing that in reality, any such thing could be met with. If such a danger were imminent, the patient would instinctively guard himself against the analysis, so that no analyst would be able to go on with it. During the early time of the teaching of suggestion there was a belief in the possibility of suggesting crime, among other things. Critical study has led to that point now, where we believe only in the realization of such suggestions as are in harmony with the innermost desires of the individual. It is somewhat the same with psychanalysis.

Apropos of suggestion, analysts are often accused of suggesting to the patient sexual ideas, and things pertaining thereto, through faulty interpretations. Analysts object that if the interpretation is faulty the patient will turn from it, without in the slightest degree, being touched by it; if he reacts he shows in this way that the interpretation is true. There is therefore, they explain, no danger. Theoretically the objection is valid enough, but I doubt if its prac-

tical application is so free from danger as it is declared to be. It seems to me that analysts often without necessity awake the sleeping lion; especially when they force sexual symbols out of dreams which scarcely can have any importance for the treatment.

Taken all in all psychanalysis cannot be made free from the accusation that it involves dangers. With added knowledge, with careful selection of suitable cases, with discretion and foresight, these dangers ought, however, to be reduced to a minimum. And naturally with the supposition that this method of treatment shall be handled only by physicians who are fully masters of its difficulties.

* * *

In order to avoid misunderstandings I must once more emphasize the fact that what I have put down must be considered only as a fragmentary guide through the most essential portions of the teachings of Freud. Psychanalysis is already so wide-spread a subject that a text book thereon could scarcely be limited to a volume similar in size to one concerning other special branches of medicine. And in less than three years' special application no one can learn to master the subject. I will also repeat that I have tried to make the presentation of the matter as objective as possible. In spite of this, however, my own

opinion concerning it may be apparent here and there. That I consider the teachings far more valuable than the shallow criticisms which have been directed against them, I will not deny. But their value for me lies more in the great possibilities, the fruitful suggestions, the bold overturning of new ground, than in that which already has been produced. If then, such rich promises are to be fulfilled, much depends upon the coming of the movement into the right line of development instead of going astray upon the quick sands that threaten it. One such danger I must now finally point out.

What disturbs me most in Freud's writings is an occasional brutal disregard of the importance of the conscious life. When Freud, in his study of dreams, had extracted the latent-content of the dream, he threw away the manifest dream-picture and all further investigations had to do with that which was brought to light through analysis. This may be done because the manifest dream-picture is in itself an unimportant product of life. But Freud has an inclination also to throw aside the manifest content of life, as something of indifferent value. He is so fascinated by all that new, unconscious world he has discovered that he is entirely lost in it. This is, to say the least, one-sidedness.

In its last analysis all our study has to do with the conscious life; the unconscious has interest only in so far as it contributes to our knowledge about the

conscious,—not at all in, and for, itself. One easily gets the conception that Freud is of the opinion that illnesses are entirely determined by unconscious processes. He is himself quite satisfied with this one-sidedness; to him it is a means of opening the eyes of his contemporaries to the importance of the unconscious forces. This concept implies a certain self-limitation. But those of his followers who distinguish themselves more by dogmatism and enthusiasm than by self-criticism and objectivity, fall victims to the danger of driving this one-sidedness to absurdity. This seems to me, for example, to be the case with Ferenczi, when he makes an attempt to interpret suggestion through an unconscious basis of explanation (the transference of the father-complex upon the physician), and when he does this with the support of only three cases. For here if anywhere, the highest conscious powers of life must be taken into account.

In that degree to which psychanalysis can advance toward knowledge of the unconscious forces, without dimming the vision, because of this, to the importance of the conscious feelings, conflicts and thoughts, it seems to be to be upon the right road of development.

IV

THE ADLER-DOCTRINE CONCERNING NEUROSIS

I MENTIONED, in the foregoing chapter, that Alfred Adler was one of the first to break with Freud. It is with his name that the strong opposition against Freud is connected, which during the past few years has given psychanalysis a general tendency to divide into lines diverging in accord with individual ideas. After a long period during which Adler strongly contended for a new series of points of view, he separated himself entirely from Freud in the year 1911. He established his own circle for discussion. Within this, development has gone on in as directly opposed a line as possible, to all that which, during the prosperity of Freud's doctrine concerning neurosis, seemed on the road to vindication. Every effort to bridge over the abyss which separates the two groups from each other, has been unsuccessful.

There can scarcely be anyone, who has come into contact with Freud's writings, who has not felt some inner revolt against his doctrines. I myself have at the same time been both charmed by his ingenuity

and distressed by the distorted pictures of life which proceed out of his sexual-monomania. But to more clearly explain the reason for this double feeling is by no means as easy as one would think. The followers of Freud assert that all opposition against him exists only because of incapacity to endure the hard truths he brings to light. Undoubtedly there is something in this. But not everything. Even one who will not let the dissecting knife spare his own heart for the purpose of coming nearer to truth, may be revolted by Freud. Perhaps such a one most of all. The reason lies deeper and must be sought in the fact that Freud unconsciously must have violated some one of life's fundamental truths. The question is which one?

The intention of the foregoing pages was to give as impartial a glance as possible over the manner in which the Freud doctrine were formulated. But I could not therein pass over Freud's undervaluation of the determining importance of the conscious life. For him the whole of our existence is built up of unconscious forces before which we are driven, without, by means of conscious consideration, being able to regulate and direct their play. Over the whole of his teaching lies something of that *concursu atamorum,* which is inherent to all materialistic points of view,—only with the difference that here there is no meaningless whirl of atoms, but a whirl

of impulses, thoughts, actions. He speaks especially about the dream carrying with it the fulfillment of a wish and one who superficially considers this idea, from many points which are similar in his system of teaching, gets an idea that he actually reckons with some out-going effort of the individual towards a purpose. But the wish in the dream, according to Freud, has always a sexual content,—it is, in other words, not the longing of the human mind towards some illusive goal that wishes; it is the body that wishes. The fulfillment of the wish does not contain the attainment of something which one, as a human being, desires; it contains only the satisfaction of something which one has in common with all the rest of organic nature,—an expansion of forces that have their origin elsewhere than in the human mind. A patient who already had undergone three Freud analyses said to me:—"Nothing exasperated me so as this constant talk of sexual desires. That my dreams often did concern themselves with erotic things, I freely admit. But there was not one trace of desire in it. The whole of my life on the contrary, was directed towards a single wish, to become free from that which forced itself upon me like some strange hostile power." Always when Freud talks about the wish, it really means something which has nothing to do with the human strife toward an intentional purpose. It will be a difficult matter

to find anything in all that he has written which contains finality in its essential meaning.

This general feature has greater possibilities than, at first glance, might be believed. It cannot be understood unless it is seen in connection with science as a whole. In an earlier stadium we had a belief that science could give an answer to the great problem of life,—that it would be able to unveil the mystery as to whence we came, and make plain the nature of our being; that it would be able to find some common intention in existence, a goal towards which all forms of life strove. Since science took on its modern form we have, however, left all such ideas behind. All questions about aims, purposes, etc., have been banished from scientific research and it has been limited to the application of causal-laws to observable phenomena; science has only to do with facts and the verification of the causal relations in which these facts stand to one another. It was undoubtedly due to the consistent pursuit of this line of development, that modern science reached its great upward swing. It has thus been shown, that nothing was so stupefying and misleading for original research in natural science, as the blending into its work of questions concerning aims, purposes, etc. It is often hard to avoid stopping at such questions when they force themselves upon us; but in so doing research is soon broken up into a subjective philosophising which leads away from the objective clear-

ing up of the world of phenomena after which we strive.

Freud is an unusually true child of his time, who is quite ruled by the modern principles of research in natural science. As I already have said, he began his work in the school of Charcot; and this he did not do for nothing. Charcot's greatest service lies in the fact that he, more than any other, contributed to draw the hitherto wavering sphere of the neurologist within the boundaries of exact research. When Freud's interest was turned in the direction of psychology, it was his effort in the same way to draw this into the main channel of scientific unfoldment. This meant an unchanged application of the same fundamental principles. On the one hand he endeavored to separate psychology from biology, study of the brain, psycho-physics, metaphysics, philosophy and other fields, with which it hitherto had been encumbered, in order, in this way, to constitute it as an independent science; on the other hand he tried to eliminate from this new science every point of view other than the purely causal, in order that it might thus be installed in the ranks of science as a totality. Every inner phenomenon became for Freud only the result of pre-existant forces and could be disposed of in the same way a physical phenomenon is disposed of, (as for example an eclipse of the sun), in decided force-qualifications. And as little as nature in an

eclipse of the sun is struggling after anything, or has any aim in view with this phenomenon, just as little was there any momentum of strife after a purpose in anything that happens in the human soul. The secret of Freud's sexual doctrine is only that he would arrange every phenomenon of the soul-life according to that power which most strongly rules organic nature. At the same time the way in which the mentality works is also stamped with the meaningless unintentional character, which is inextricably bound up in the idea. The psychic-life of humanity is deprived of all the special functions which we are accustomed to connect with the meaning of humanity. It seems to me to be this, which above everything else makes one instinctively rebel against the psychology of Freud. And rebel with right, for human life does not allow itself to be once for all solved solely from causal postulations.

Against this one-sidedness of Freud's, sooner or later there must have come a revolt.

This revolt is embodied in Alfred Adler.

I shall now try to make plain his starting point and show how from this point he arrived at a general psychology and characterology, on the foundation of which he believed he would be able to solve the difficult problem of the doctrine concerning neuroses. I shall afterwards point out how, from his standpoint, he tried to put a different value on those facts,

which psychanalytical research brought to light and in which Freud sees examples of the all-pervading force of sexuality.

* * *

In separating from Freud, Adler had a purely biological starting point. While Freud began his activity by translating into his own tongue the works of the French hypnotists and practicing his profession in accordance with their methods, Adler's most important first work was his article "Studien über Minderwertigkeit von Organen." In this he considered all the usual imperfections in the organism of the child and tried to interpret their origin from the biological point of view. It is not my purpose to take up this important matter more closely; in this connection, it is only of interest to see how from such a starting point, he came to the study of neuroses. The way for it was staked out already in the article mentioned and Adler's subsequent work has consisted in further elaboration of this.

How nature tries to make redress if an organ sustains an injury, by some process of organic development which compensates for the disturbance originating through the injury, is a well understood phenomenon. If, for example, some of the valves of the heart are destroyed, the heart must then perform additional work; as a consequence the muscular ac-

tivity increases, so that it can fully carry out the new demands upon it. Or if one kidney is removed, the remaining one enlarges, so that it can do the work of both. Adler points out another kind of compensatory arrangement of nature and an understanding of this is, according to his meaning, very important, because only by means of it as a starting point is it possible to comprehend the building up of neuroses.

An organ's capacity for work depends not only upon its physical condition but even more decidedly upon the nerve impulses which go out to it from the central nervous system. Everybody knows how by means of a vigorous tension of will it is possible to accomplish work which under ordinary conditions one is powerless to perform. Accordingly a physically defective organ can be made to function normally by means of augmented nerve impulses. The physical deficiency is compensated, in other words, by an energetic over-efficiency. But this arrangement of nature easily carries with it an over-sensitiveness in the weakened organ, and it is this which lays the foundation for nervous suffering. In examining, for instance, an adult who is subject to nervous diarrhoea, it is almost invariably found that before this particular disturbance began, he had had some physical trouble in the intestinal tract. This may lie far back in his past, e. g.,—it may have lasted for some months during the first years of life. Even

if it had apparently been cured, it may have left behind it a weakness, or an oversensitiveness, which a few decades later may appear in some form of neurosis. What is thus true concerning an organ or organic system, is also true when it concerns the organism as a whole. If the subject of the childhood is brought up when a neurotic is examined, the following will often be heard:—"I was weak and tired even at that time, was quite done up with my school work, was tormented by a disability that put me behind," etc. In the same way in which a single weakened organic function may be sustained on account of dynamic compensation, so is it also with the whole of a poorly equipped organism. This explains too, an apparently paradoxical circumstance, how one often finds great feats of strength emanating from individuals of relatively weak physical development. They are obliged to keep their will-tension in constant training, in order to keep up at all; and because of this unnaturally disciplined power they are able sporadically to accomplish amazing things. To this class belongs that spasmodic manner of working so characteristic of the nervous sufferer; after a sporadic flaming up of the forces, this class of patients may at once sink back into a state of exhaustion. They are well known for their good beginnings, good ideas,—but they are unable to carry anything through to the end. The over-sensitiveness of neurotics belongs to the same category. Every

part of the organism responds with exaggerated vibrations to whatever takes place about this class of patients. Of course the results of these arrangements of nature may be, in different cases, extremely changeable, dependable partly upon the high degree of original impairment, partly upon the degree to which compensation has succeeded. Adler places beside one another the three conceptions: degeneration —neurosis—genius. In the first case the compensation has been unsuccessful, just as much as it has fully succeeded in the last. The degenerate sinks out of life in the same way that genius lifts itself up to capability for fitting itself to a new type of life. The neurotic, in more or less heterogeneous blending, shows features of both,—he wavers between the two extremes, unable to find a permanent resting-place.

From the biological starting point, Adler came over to the psychology of neurosis-formation, by going more deeply into the question as to how organic deficiency acts upon the sufferer's mental life and character-development. He in this way, discovered many interesting things.

The most apparent consequence of an organic weakness is that it attracts attention to itself and demands a certain interest. If one has a weak heart, one must think about it and be on guard continually to take proper care of it; it cannot be left to itself as if it were in a state of health. Because of this directing of the attention upon an over-sensitive or-

gan its sensitiveness is drawn farther along the path of auto-suggestion. I have already in another connection pointed out the importance of the attention for the formation of suggestions. Here the way lies open for hypochondriacal puttering with the body and its pains. Disturbances of this nature may be quite amenable to suggestive treatment.

But far more serious than the exaggerated cherishing of the weak organ and of the enfeebled organism are the more special psychic reactions which the enfeeblement forces to the surface. It not only strives to imprison the sufferer's faculty of interest, —it tries also to put its stamp upon his emotional life, to annihilate its free activity and to drive it into a road of compulsion, which is fatal to any further development. The organic defect produces a feeling of deficiency, a feeling that the sufferer is worth less than his fellows; and this fundamental impression of the feelings in its turn, forces out displacements in development along different lines, the result being nervous types of character and disease.

It may be easier to make all this plain by means of a simple example.

Suppose a strong, energetic, happy boy becomes suddenly ruptured. He is taken to a physician, is examined and given careful orders;—he must keep out of the gymnasium, must give up athletics, must not run, must not fight; he must pay such attention to himself that never will he thoughtlessly forget to follow the doctor's directions. For if he should for-

get, something dangerous might happen,—he might have to be operated upon at once in order to save his life, etc. The boy is thus compelled to divide his attention between the rupture and everything which hitherto has been a source of pleasure to him. He no longer can devote himself to anything with the same undisturbed interest as before; the fact of the illness forces itself continually upon him. He has always to be on his guard. In this last circumstance perhaps, lies by far the more significant moment. For it means that the hitherto spontaneous, self-evident connection with the surrounding world has been broken. A human being lives only through reciprocal action between himself and the external world; if life goes on harmoniously this reciprocal action is so self-evident that it is never even a subject for reflection. This is the state of the child who still keeps a dim memory of its condition in the mother's body, where it was completely at one with its surroundings. The boy who formerly had gone his way without extra consideration as an established part of the family, in the circle of his comrades, in school, now feels that danger threatens him everywhere. Instead of being taken up and cherished as heretofore by the world about him, it has now become an enemy which meets him at every turn. "You must not go with the others to the gymnasium." He is weaker than the others, incapable of doing the same things they do; he is put aside,—alone. The restraint he must constantly lay upon himself

awakens in him as constantly, a feeling of being out of sorts. Those things which formerly delighted him no longer please him. Everything that had amused him he now must guard himself against; pleasure itself becomes an enemy. He feels himself obliged to find some means of getting out of this condition; and as this thought forces itself upon him, life becomes a problem,—a problem that the more perplexes him, becomes the more insolvable, the more he broods over it.

All this has to do with a case in which the child comes upon a defect during its development, which places it in a difficult situation. Almost the same thing takes place when a person enfeebled from the very start, becomes conscious of his inferiority.

As a rule we take for granted that the life of a child is very simple. If an adult could recall everything experienced during the first ten years of life, other conclusions would be reached. All the struggle after favor, the effort to keep up on a level with others, to overreach competition,—all these things which rule the greater part of the life of the adult, are by no means unknown to the child. Rather the contrary. The child who cannot stand on his own legs is absolutely dependent upon surroundings; their verdict becomes of radical importance. If the child loses the good graces of those nearest it, goes under in the competition with brothers, sisters or comrades, it is a far more miserable experience than a grown

person as a rule, can imagine. What despair and oppression then it must be, to be from the very beginning oppressed by a feeling of inferiority. Consider a little girl when she discovers that she does not possess the beauty or lovableness, by means of which she naturally would win all hearts. This is so much the worse when the feeling of aloofness, which such an experience carries with it cannot be cleared away; —how can a child explain to a grown person what it suffers under such circumstances,—it does not even understand itself what is going on within it.

There arises now a serious question as to what a child may do when it has thus come askew with life and when this state becomes an insolvable problem.

The answer is simple:—the child exchanges the real world it has lost, for a world of illusion.

The old legend of Paradise is capable of many interpretations of which one and all may contain a seed of truth. But I wonder whether just that second in which this change takes place, does not construct the most material boundary between the original relative state of harmony and its breaking up into turbulent dissension. Paradise—that is the world into which, without reflection we flow together with the whole, in which each one is a part and of which each life is a symbol. Happiness—that is the feeling when our forces radiate without obstruction, touching into life all with which they come in contact, as we are borne on by the creating power

Into the world of the damned comes he who no longer is a partaker in all this joy, who withers within himself,—longing only after fantasies that fade into nothingness as he tries to grasp them.

We may be pretty sure that the child to whom the real world becomes an affliction, will try to find its way out of its trouble by living more and more deeply in the world of fantasy. All those desires which could not find realization in actuality, become fulfilled in imagination. If a boy gets the worst of it in a fight with some comrade, he unfailingly constructs afterwards, a fantasy in which he is the rightful victor. The more evident the whipping was, just the more unrestrained works his imagination, in order that his humiliation may thus be counteracted. The notoriously weak and feeble, in their dreams, become great soldiers who crush hordes of enemies and let the sun of their own power shine upon poor human slaves. The little girl, ugly even to disfigurement, becomes a great enchantress, whom no one can resist.

Most of those who have had to do with children have undoubtedly noticed sometime how a formerly sound and happy child changes and grows shy and reserved, reticent and irritable. The inner change makes its appearance externally in this way. The child wants to be left in peace with its fantasies, reacting with irritability against everything which would detach it from them. It cannot speak about

the things which fill its thoughts,—therefore it does not, as a rule, speak at all. The fatality in this displacement lies simply in the fact that it is so difficult to right, when it takes place in this early stadium. Grown people too, may occasionally fill up the gap left by some disappointment, by means of imagination,—in this manner retrieving the loss. But if one has been firmly set on the path of reality it is not hard to return to it again. Entirely different however, is the case of a child who has not yet fitted itself into that reality, in which it is to live, nor acquired a connection with it. If imagination takes possession of it, this may all too easily become the world in which it truly lives. It is by no means unusual that a child is not even able to separate fantasy from reality, but with entire sincerity believes in its imaginings rather than in its real experiences.

All this however, carries along with it under different circumstances, widely different consequences. The matter is best understood if Adler's grouping of terms is kept in mind:—degeneration—neurosis—genius. The difference in these three instances depends upon the degree to which the enfeebled individual has been able to conpensate for his enfeeblement. It thus finally means the inner power of production. But because the whole of that process through which a compensation is produced, has so much to do with fantasy, it is scarcely possible to

get a true conception of it without having in mind the excessively great part which fantasy plays for any one who is burdened with the feeling of inferiority.

What is most characteristic about the mental life of the degenerate, is that mass of shadowy fantasies upon which he lets himself weakly be carried away. The baron in Gorki's "Night Refuge" is a characteristic type; he has slipped down, from the aristocratic position in which he was born, into the most wretched dregs of society, without knowing how he got there. The whole of the external world has had for him so little reality-value, that passage through it was not even registered as a mechanical memory: —only empty fantasies altogether, fantasies that broke before his eyes like soap-bubbles, without his lifting a hand to try to grasp them. At the same time that this moving along on the formless stream of imagination disintegrates the inner life into unreality, it carries the individual farther and farther away from the outside reality. This is fatal simply because the degenerate, through it, is deprived of all necessity for that adaptation, which the outside world always means to the sound mind. Everyone may chance to go astray; but when one least suspects it one feels the iron grip of necessity. And this carries one back where one must go. But for the degenerate, that *must* of outside necessity, remains an unreality like all the rest.

Things take on another aspect when an abyss yawns beneath a strong, talented child and that world in which it has lived hitherto as a homogeneous part. It also may be pushed back by its surrounding circumstances and overwhelmed by their verdict:—"You are lazy," we say,—"You have a poor memory. You can never learn to parse verbs as well as others;"—even such little things may be pressed down into the feeling of inferiority. But when a child must admit its disadvantage it always does so with certain reservations:—"In other ways," it says to itself, "I am superior. Just wait and I'll show you what I can do!" The most gifted likewise may be forced out of the world of reality into that of fantasy. But for them from the very beginning, fantasies have had a stamp of higher reality. Out of such fantasies presently proceed a form of life that in its deepest significance comes nearer to the real than that from which it has been separated;—it may mean the inventor's improvement of material conditions, the politician's solution of municipal problems, or the poet's revelation of a world of inner beauty. In a word, the instant a creative genius is thrown out of banal reality, forces within are set in motion which sometime may become the source of new life and due to which a nobler human type may be created. If a person, as a rule, is to become anything else than one ingredient in the mass, stamped by its affects and with all its lack of spirituality, he must

at a very early stage have been left alone to face the difficulties of life. No work bears the imprint of genius, unless already in childhood the worker learned to take hold of existence in an original way and to solve its conflicts by means of his original qualifications. The whole of this process of individualizing and independent productivity which, in the adult, breaks forth in a life of action and at the same time frees himself and draws others towards a higher form of life, all this process must have had its foundation laid almost simultaneously with the dawn of consciousness and must then have developed during the whole period of growth; only then is it genuine.

The neurotic, as I have said already, occupies a place between the two extremes. He keeps himself within the framework of the outside reality; but he lives either upon fantasies which have nothing to do with reality,—or else makes continual unsuccessful efforts to overcome it as a creator. To Adler, Strindberg is the embodiment of this conception. It is well known how, in childhood, Strindberg suffered from an over-ruling feeling of inferiority; and all his after life was a series of desperate efforts to work himself, in the most widely separated ways, up out of this. All that he aimed to construct to this end, soon collapsed and he again stood in the same place as before. In spite of all his unprecedented power for creating, he never succeeded in bringing out one sin-

gle value that became established for himself or could show a way on for others;—it all dissolved in chaos. Finally he succumbed to the feeling of inferiority, with which he had started out, dying with the cross before his eyes and hate in his heart;—the cross, which is the everlasting symbol of inability to master the earthly life, and hate, which is only the negation of all emotional value.

From this general standpoint let us go on to a more critical examination of the formation of neuroses in detail, according to Adler's opinions. Adler's strength lies in his limitations and in his logicalness. The whole of his work consists of a study of those different ways, by which compensation-formations seek a way out. All this may be gathered together in two broad strokes;—one Adler called "die Sicherung," the other he called "der männliche Protest."

Freud had already pointed out that neurosis is a flight away from life into the realm of disease. Adler has laid stress upon the way in which life, for him who is burdened with a feeling of inferiority, comes to be looked upon as one big danger. It is not enough to flee continually from this danger, one must always try as well, to guard one's self against it. As little as the weak can go to meet trouble with an open mind, in order through these troubles, as through hell-fire, to arrive at abiding harmony, just as little is such a one able to make himself secure be-

forehand, by building life up upon a genuine foundation of truth and undisturbed reality. He tries instead to defend himself by means of various stratagems. Adler has a great faculty for catching, behind all neurotic symptoms, a glimpse of diverse delusions, illusions, poses, attitudes; tersely, unrealities behind which the neurotic tries to defend himself from the unmercifulness of reality. He solves a great part of the symptomatology by this rearing up of sham barricades.

There is no doubt that the defense-mechanism plays a main part in a great number of neurotic conditions. The man who struggles with his polygamous tendencies and wishes to escape prostitution, rears up in his mind the syphilis-phobia syndrome, and behind this wall feels himself safe; because he is overcome with anxiety and thinks only of this deadly peril into which he might fall merely through one kiss, he never needs to fear that he will become the victim of venality. The wife who wishes to escape the marriage connection and the bearing of many children, notices some vague, uncomfortable feelings in her reproductive organs; she grasps these feelings as a drowning man grasps a straw, she makes as much as she can of them until they become an actual pain which necessitates long-standing local-treatment from a clever specialist,—it may even happen that she has her home in a country town, but that the specialist can be seen only in a metropolis where she

has always longed to live. The young girl, who has been put into an office and finds the montony of the work there as loathsome as she finds the boldness of the men, suddenly gets agoraphobia,—there is nothing to do but to allow her to stay at home and escape her part towards helping in the home's common support. The teacher who has too much to do, faints in the middle of a lecture,—she is carried home, gets a free day and thus defends herself against overtiredness. The further advanced neurotic who already spends life in bed and thinks it monotonous to be alone, gets peculiar attacks in which, for example, he rushes to the window and tries to throw himself out; these attacks necessitate the continual presence of a nurse, in spite of the fact that the family can little afford the luxury. A poor woman who suffers from her insignificant position in life, when she moves to any new place, may attempt suicide, so that everyone is frightened and she is thus made a topic of general conversation, as if she were some great celebrity;—so for a time she is assured against the pangs of obscurity. Examples innumerable might be given.

It is evident that an understanding of this defense-mechanism is of especial importance for every practising physician. For it is very often with the assistance of the doctor that neurotics are successful in carrying through this stratagem. The patient himself has no comprehension of the trouble to which

he has suddenly fallen a victim. In spite of the fact that in its very nature it is something illusory, he accepts it as reality, and in this fact the neurosis lies. The family is unable to explain the right connection, although they often have a faint suspicion of it. If then the physician comes and with his authority supports the tendency to ill health, the patient succeeds in putting it through in spite of all opposition. Far from being nullified by prescriptions which have no causal connection with the formation process of the illness, these act only as a means of working it more firmly into the nervous system. The harm which has in this way been done in the handling of neuroses through routine treatment, isolating cures, and other blunders, can scarcely be estimated. There is no possibility of coming to a rational way of treating neuroses without a general collegial understanding of this thing. We must not forget that the over-coming of a defense mechanism demands work from within, and may often be painful and take the energy of years. When the patient finds out that he no longer is left in peace but must take up the battle of life in order to be well,—then he runs to some other doctor. And this one perhaps lets him once more sink back into his protective measures, and by so doing cuts off the road to health which had begun to be cleared out.

It may indeed be a difficult task to once more take hold of life when a man has well established

himself as a neurotic, under this defense-mechanism. But on the other hand it not infrequently happens that severe symptoms which have been built up in this manner, disappear as if by magic, when the causal associations are cleared up. It is as if the patient, against his will had become enmeshed in a net of illusions,—it needs only that this be torn asunder in order that he may become well and free. He has fled from reality; but the neurosis has provided a new experience;—however dangerous reality itself may be, there is one thing still more dangerous; and that is the effort to assure one's self against it in any way whatever.

After these hints concerning Adler's meaning as it has to do with neurotic defense mechanism, I shall point out briefly what is involved in his other fundamental idea, viz, "the masculine protest." It may be most suitable to start from a concrete case.

A robust man of about thirty years consulted me once because of impotence. It came out at once that the impotence applied only to his marriage; during the whole time of his youth he had been unusually vigorous in the sexual respect. He had married solely for love and his wife was in no way opposed to him. This seems peculiar, but the association is very simple. I asked him some questions concerning his father and he then broke out with the greatest bitterness. His father, he told me, had ruined his life. All through his student days this father had dogged

his steps in every possible way,—he had made home a perfect hell during his childhood, etc., etc. He continued: "As far back as I can remember, I was determined never to be the cause of bringing children into the world,—I would not bring about such damnation as I had known in my own life." Here was the thing quite clear. The young man's waking consciousness in childhood had been impressed with a protest against the father, the flame being continually fed by new feelings of hatred which must be suppressed. Out of this protest against the father arose a protest against fatherhood. And it was this which brought about all that failure of the sexual-mechanism, when danger of fatherhood arose because of his marriage. I asked him if he still held fast to his decision not to wish to become a father. "No, for God's sake!" he answered, "My wife would like ten children if I could do my part." Consciously then he had given up the protest. In such cases that is always the first step toward health. Sometimes the imprint which the protest puts upon the unconscious mind is blotted out also: but if this is deep-seated it may require tedious work to repair the consequences of the past.

In this case it is easy to see the characteristics of the neurotic attitude toward life. In the face of the fact of an unhappy childhood, the sound, strong man says to himself: "If I have children in the future, it will be the effort of my life to see to it

that they do not suffer as I have done." This is a positive goal; it is something which at the same time leaves the mind open for what is to come, and which gives the mind a content. The neurotic on the contrary, flees from difficulties; the impotence is an unconscious stratagem, by means of which this patient had beforehand saved himself, without the trouble of taking hold in earnest of the solution of a risky problem. Neurosis is the negation of life. The protest is the active side of this negation. The passive side is that of the defense.

This protest-mechanism opens up understanding for very many neurotic disturbances. I just now recall a man who suffered from the same trouble as the patient I have last mentioned; he had been left behind by his competitors, and his feelings were engulfed in protest against this unmerited treatment. He was so taken up with thoughts concerning this occurrence, that he never had time to devote himself to his wife and his home. Another patient who came to me for treatment for alcoholism, said to me: "I notice that if anyone suspects me of being unable to control myself, something within me arises in protest and I go and get drunk. This protest is more dangerous for me than anything else."

I said before, how the neurotic, unlike the degenerate can let himself be carried away by shadowy fantasies; he must constantly keep hold of himself in unavailing effort to alter the reality of which he

is not master. The protest is this everlasting rebellion against life, which leads to nothing and after which the neurotic once more sinks into his helplessness,—there is no one who exhausts his forces so unnecessarily as the victim of a protest-mechanism. The so-called neurasthenic "tiredness" is often caused by simply this.

Adler gives the protest the epithet "masculine." This means that all the struggling, the wish to be first in competition with others, the strife for power, which characterize the mind-current, has to do with those qualities we are accustomed to call masculine. But there is also another and more important reason. We come upon the protest in the study of neurosis to a great extent and in a special form, among women, who inwardly rise up against their position as women. Behind much neurotic suffering among women Adler believes that he is able to see the hidden desire to escape the position of woman. He gives many examples of women who ever since the awakening of consciousness have been in open strife with their sex, and who react with anxiety, insomnia and other symptoms against everything which reminds them of their part in life. This is not so strange as it may appear. Woman since the earliest days of civilization has been placed in a subordinate position; one might almost say that the feeling of inferiority throughout centuries has worked into womanhood itself and now burdens the whole sex. A girl becomes

aware of this disadvantage as soon as she experiences the condescending airs and disdain with which her brothers talk "of girls not being any good." Not at all strange that such talk awakens a desire to out-shine them. But in this very fact may a foundation be laid in the girl for a conflict with her own nature, which later on becomes fatal. The protest, which should be directed against what is fallacious in the opinion, instead directs itself against the nature of womanhood itself. While on this subject it might be a temptation to see how Adler's point of view holds good concerning the so-called feminist movement. Undoubtedly he believes this movement is just, as a means of rectifying the mistakes of the history of civilization. But he wonders if it does not sometimes come in upon paths which have relationship with those of illness, where occasionally a woman goes astray, because, without understanding of the matter, she rises in arms and tries to suppress that which is by far the finest and noblest in her nature. In the strife after "equality with man" alone, lies the seed for one such way of straying;—in this one sees an inkling of the "masculine protest," just as in every other place where the woman puts forward man and masculinity as an aim for her struggle. What it implies is not that the woman shall be forced into the same plain as the man and have opportunity to so develop her powers that she shall set up an opposition against him; what

it does mean is that she must be freed from the estimation and standard of life which men have forced upon her and thus have a fair chance to develop freely and fully, her own nature.

Anything that makes an early straying aside upon any one of these many wrong paths fatal, is the fact that the individual at the same time puts before him delusive aims and fashions his life-plan after these. The neurotic, because of a feeling of inferiority, is thus separated from real life and is forced into a life of fantasy. In place of working towards tangible external goals, his aim is after something which he constructs in his imagination. He thus deprives himself of the happiness that lies in the attainment of something after which he has struggled. He stands continually in front of the painful discovery that his own fantasies are incongruous with real life. "It has not turned out as I expected it to," he says. "What is the use in striving for anything?" and so his activity is paralyzed and he comes into the state of relaxation of will-power so characteristic of the neurasthenic.

The dangers attending the building up of these fictitious ideas against which the neurotic strives, are simply that the formation-process itself in essential degree, finally is decided by those tendencies with which he tries to compensate the feeling of inferiority. In other words: the whole life-plan comes to be decided either by the defense-mechanism

or the protest. In order to leave his illusions behind him it may often be necessary for the neurotic to make over his whole life from the very foundation. Generally the so-called regression, plays a great part in every treatment. Through this something like a stop is put to that development in which the individual is being driven on by his inner forces. He is compelled to go farther and farther back in order to review every point in life's falsification, to which he has become a victim. After this has been done he comes again to his present life as if after an inner voyage of exploration; he sees it in another light and comprehends toward what genuine purpose he should direct himself.

It is without doubt simply in the ruling of the whole life-plan by wrong tendencies, that insurmountable hindrances often arise in the road to health.

I shall here give an example of what I mean.

I was consulted once by a man of about thirty years, who was troubled by a disturbance in the organ of speech. He did not stammer exactly, but suddenly without the slightest warning the tongue refused to do its service. It was a particularly unfortunate trouble for him because he had intended to become a popular lecturer. He had put before him as his aim in life the elevation of the people and he meant to stand forth himself as a moral example. Because he had been originally a poor peasant boy, and gave me the impression of being orderly and dili-

gent, but nevertheless exceedingly poorly gifted, I suspected at once that there was a plain incongruity between his qualifications and his ambition. I thought that in all probability the trouble with the speech had some dim association with this fact. Investigation revealed that in childhood this patient had indulged in the wildest imaginations connected with war and plans for being a great victor; he wanted to eclipse the great generals of his country and make it once more a world power, etc. As soon as he was grown up he had enlisted in the army. In this act there was nothing peculiar. But he had by no means taken this course with the thought of remaining a non-commissioned officer or any such insignificant thing,—he had done it with the undisturbed conviction that he shortly would become Chief of the General Staff and in this position would be able to work out his plans as soon as a war broke out. Then came upon him the trouble with his speech which forced him on to another path. He had then gone to New Zealand. "Why New Zealand?" I asked him. He told me because he had wanted to say that he had been farther away from his native land than any one else, and so had chosen the point on the globe which was precisely opposite his own country. I shall not repeat all the queer circumstances with which this analysis swarmed. Tersely, at each decision he allowed himself to be dominated by his childhood's fiction of being foremost.

His work as a lecturer was naturally nothing else than the use of such subjects as temperance, the education of the people and various other questions of the day, in order to attract attention to himself, just as indeed, many others use such means. The disturbance of speech had arisen as a natural means to try to force him to fit into reality,—a thing I must here pass by. In order to become well the man had to give up his ideas of greatness and be resigned to the fact that he was entirely an every-day unimportant workman, who must make an honorable means of self-support his purpose in life;—this change was too much for him.

In referring to the origin of inferiority, I touched upon one circumstance which puts great hindrances in the way of making over of the fictitious life-plan, viz: that the feeling of inferiority itself is woven in with actual physical weaknesses and irregularities. These thus constantly sustain the erroneous mind-building processes. In this last case for example, there existed a malformation of the gum which made it hard for the patient to pronounce the letter "s."

There is still another circumstance which in this respect is of even greater import and which for the sake of simplicity I have hitherto passed by. I have so presented the matter that it would seem as if the feeling of inferiority arose in connection with physical weakness and as if the defense- and protest-mechanisms originated in connection with those dif-

ficulties met with on account of it, in the fitting in with reality. But all this has very often a deeper association. Anomalies mean psychic educational faults, and it is against these that compensation must be established in different directions. In other words the individual has something constitutional within him from which he always tries to escape and against which he continually revolts. Let us take as an example a homosexual trait in a deeply moral man of strong character. Under such circumstances a compulsion-neurosis with a complicated ritual may be erected, which forces the individual every second of the day to be on his guard. He may, for instance, be subjected to the compulsion of dressing himself in a certain way, of walking upon certain stones in certain streets, of carrying out his work in a certain way,—he may, because of agorophobia, be frightened away from all places where men solicit, etc. I recall one man of splendid education, but constitutionally homosexual, who joined the Salvation Army and for whom religion played the part of such a protecting defense-measure. Or the process may also appear in the protest form. We might in that case say that the protest is the tension between abnormal tendencies,—such as perverted animal instincts, and the forces in use in the construction of morals. The more one is reminded of the impulse just so much the stronger arises the protest; this is then discarded to other relatively indifferent ob-

jects and is projected into the surrounding world and into work in accordance with well known mechanisms. So the reason which causes a woman's shrewishness, through which she destroys her own happiness as well as that of others, may lie in some hidden perversity, from which she continually, by this means, tries to turn her attention.

If neurotic conditions do not become amenable to cure, the reason will often be found in such constitutional anomalies, which make the fitting into real life an impossibility. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that the situation can be improved, that is to say, that after analysis of the associations the individual can replace the neurotic defense-system with something better;—for example replace a compulsion-system that paralyzes the whole working power, with a useful work which holds the attention and engrosses the energy.

Such deep unchangeable abnormalities hold good in the question of psychopathic conditions. For the explanation of the psychology of these also, Adler's lines of thought have value. This is understandable if one keeps in mind the aim toward which both fundamental tendencies point most surely;—these are realized in both the extreme psychic types, i. e. in the dement and the protest-paranoiac. The former has withdrawn entirely from the outside world and lives only in the fantasies which he, himself produces. He has shielded himself by means of walls

built up from the compulsion-system, symbols, attitudes, automatisms, etc., in such a way that he no longer is approachable. The latter, on the contrary, instantly takes an "on guard" attitude toward every one he meets. He is oversensitive in regard to the outside world in such a way that he makes use of each little thing as a welcome means of obtaining outlet for the hate-saturated disharmony within him. Of course in the construction of psychopathic conditions, causes of quite another sort than those here described also come into question; with them medical psychology has nothing to do. It is limited to searching into psychological associations.

I said in the introduction of this paper that Adler represented a revolt against the Freud system, which sooner or later must have come. It may need no more than the above hints concerning Adler's teachings to make clear to every one how widely they differ from everything that is connected with the name of Freud. Obviously a presentation of everything, which according to Adler is fundamentally important for the construction of neurosis, may be given, without once bringing the sexual life into question. In his earnestness to point out other causes than those emphasized by Freud, he has even gone so far as wholly to deny that the sexual-life and its conflicts are explanatory foundations for nervous suffering. It may appear of only paradoxical interest. But really that is the conclusion we must arrive at, if

Adler's opinions are followed out to the goal toward which they point. And Adler may be accused of anything rather than of inconsistency.

The forces which Adler pointed out, and the action of which he tried to follow in detail, play, according to him, such a dominating rôle, that the sexual-life itself, by the side of them, steps into the background. Where the feeling of inferiority has found a way into a person's life everything must yield to the effort to build up compensation in one way or another,—everything is subordinated to this, even the longing to reach freedom of the senses. Before the purpose of defending one's self against the dangers of life, or the longing to overcome other dangers by means of the masculine protest, the neurotic loses sight of all other purposes. He not only loses love as an aim in life, but he loses the faculty itself, to love. He meets every rising tendency within himself, with an anxious effort to flee from it. He dare not devote himself to anything which may bring him in contact with this dangerous reality, which is his constant terror. Love would compel him to give up those dreams which are dearer to him than life, and drive him to the humiliating acknowledgment that he has striven after an illusory goal;—so must he raise himself up in protest against it. Because of this everlasting seeking after fictitious aims, after unreality, the neurotic can never give himself up to the risk of a real emotion, as he must do, if by means

of it he is to redeem himself. All that has to do with the erotic, remains for him just as unreal as everything else in his life,—a fantasy, an arrangement, a pose, a part to play. Because of this Adler believes that it is preposterous to ascribe such a causal significance to neurosis-formation, even where the patient himself shoves such significance into the foreground and when at superficial consideration it seems to play a chief part. The deciding factors are, instead, all those things which drive the neurotic into a life of unreality and impede his emancipation.

Even if Freud's sexual-doctrine may not be eliminated from scientific consciousness in so convenient a way, Adler's point of view contains nevertheless very much of value. It can not be denied that the "libidinous satyr-play" is often an external phenomenon, deep under which "the tragedy of the masculine protest" works the destruction of the individual. Strindberg, whose life and work are an inexhaustible well-spring for the exemplification of Adler's viewpoint is, in this regard, singularly instructive. One of Adler's most faithful adherents, Freschl, has recently devoted himself to a study of Strindberg's book, "For Pay." This points out how, for the author, everything was a question of power, an effort to demonstrate his superiority. He feels his inferiority in regard to woman and marries three times in the hope of finally becoming master over some one. At the bottom of his inclination to endow woman at

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one and the same time with irresistible charm and with the most horrible qualities, lies one of those strange stratagems which are so often met with in neurotics; he does it to protect himself from the humiliation which otherwise would mean his going under in the battle against her, for no one need be ashamed of being unable to withstand such monsters of artifice and enchantment as he makes his fictitious women appear to be.

Helen must conquer in order to show the dangerous power of which she is possessed and it is easy to understand the need of the man to protect himself against her,—against women—etc. Out of Strindberg's life and out of all his books it is easy to see how aggression-tendencies originated from a neurotic thought-scheme to which he must keep fast hold in order to defend himself, since he plainly felt how great was his insecurity against women. This feeling of powerlessness in the struggle against her, was however, only one expression standing out in the foreground, for a general feeling of inferiority which he had with him from the very beginning.

When Strindberg speaks of love between man and woman, it does not mean anything like love, but only the question which of the two shall get the better of the other in the struggle for power.

This has interest in showing how Adler thus throws new light upon a problem which Freud believed he had made quite clear in the gleam from his dark-

lantern of sexual dogmatism. Through it there has come about a re-valuation of all those facts which Freud dragged forth and made subjects for discussion. The most important question is the manner in which Adler manages the incest-doctrine. As I pointed out in the foregoing paper, during the development of psychanalysis this doctrine has become such an absolute center in the whole structure of the teaching, that it often seems as if an answer to all the fundamentally essential questions seek deduction out of it. Adler's greatest import lies perhaps simply in the fact that he constructed a dam against the inclination of this incest-doctrine to overflow all the different spheres of human-nature.

The material for the incest-doctrine has been chiefly gathered from dreams. It can neither enter Adler's mind nor that of anyone else who is practically engaged with psychology, to deny that in the dreams of neurotic patients incestuous fantasies are to be met with about as Freud describes them, and that through analysis one may find a trace of such things in the unconscious life of everyone. The question therefore is not so much this fact in and for itself, but far more how it shall be explained. The opposition which arose was chiefly against Freud's manner of interpreting it as an expression of an unconscious wish, which prevented free play of the feelings and gave rise to insuperable resistance against those forces which will out. What Adler

above all objected to was the establishment of the incest-motive as a reality in the life of the individual. When he himself accepts the erotic conflict in neurotics as an unreality,—as a curtain, behind which all these other forces are acting; then it is but a step for him also to accept the origin of those conflicts as an illusion, a self-deception. He also considered it only as a staging of the longing for protection and the struggle for power. When the man, for instance, dreams that he is in intimate intercourse with his mother, it means only that he runs to her from the dangers of life in the same way he did as a child. And so it is always. The fact that these sensuous situations appear in dreams so relatively often, depends most closely upon a technical circumstance in the formation of dreams. We possess in the unconscious mind, so to speak, a stratum of memory pictures which superimposes an earlier stadium in connection with the most primitive sensuous sensations. Among these memories, pictures of our nearest relations play the chief rôle,—they being then the only individuals who existed for us. Of the psychic material furnished by this stratum, we make use in dreams in order to express those tendencies by which our conscious ego is ruled; we need this to illustrate endeavors of quite another sort.

It seems to me that Adler is right in that the incest-material must not be taken so seriously as Freud took it. But on the other hand I do not be-

lieve that the question can be solved according to his psychological outlines; it must be considered in a broader connection, much broader than could here even be sketched in.

* * *

But the strife which is now going on between Freud and Adler means far more than scientific controversies like those upon which I have touched; it means even more than the ground work for medical psychology.

I pointed out in the beginning that Freud tried to interpret the psychic-life from its causal assumptions, just as every investigator of natural science interprets phenomena which come within his field of research. The basic idea in the sexual doctrine is simply such an attempt to resolve all different expressions of the mental life into more or less accidental forms, by the power which rules the whole of the animal world. Freud's attempt aims, in other words, to fit the teaching concerning the mental life in, with all the rest of the system of natural science. Adler's opposition is an expression of humanity's everlasting protest against all under-valuation of the specifically human forces; it is the claim of the final view point on an equality with the causal.

It may thus be seen that Adler asserts finality with that same ruthless one-sidedness, with which Freud

emphasized causality, as the driving, creating, power in human life.

According to Adler we understand nothing of that which takes place within us unless we first and foremost direct attention to the ineffaceable struggle after a purpose which rules all our undertakings. The nature of neurosis is unveiled to us only when we learn to distinguish between real and illusory aims. If this struggle for a purpose comes from within and carries with it the stamp of our deepest, truest volition,—if the purpose is in harmonious proportion with our forces and if its attainment leads to the emancipation of these forces, then we are on the right road. But if the effort itself is distorted, excited, and really an egotistical desire to demonstrate our own superiority; if the purpose is something which in actuality we do not desire, something, which looked deeper into, is of no worth to us, a will-o-the-wisp after which we reach only because it shines beautifully before our eyes,—then we are on the road to disease.

Behind this struggle toward a goal Adler catches a gleam of the permanent life-plan. The idea for him, carries with it almost a mystical purport, and in reading his works one sometimes feels that this idea is his name for the substance of life itself. To show how deeply the life-plan is grown into the psyche, he has investigated the earliest memories of childhood in a very large number of cases; he has found

thereby that these always are a symbol of the life-plan. As an instance, I questioned a young man about his earliest recollections;—he had sat upon somebody's knee and told tales of robbers and had been overjoyed when some of the people near him expressed delight. He was then three years old. Now he is over twenty and wants to study to become an artist; his life is ruled by the longing to charm in some such capacity, his contemporaries. The life-plan is the indwelling, primitive, central point in the human soul. Life consists of an effort to realize it. In front of it everything else must give way, and to it all other tendencies must be subordinated.

Adler's undisturbed consistency comes out strongest by far in the way in which he puts another construction on the Freud incest-doctrine. Even the forces which penetrate most deeply into the assumptions of our earthly existence are not, according to Adler, decisive for the form of it. By themselves they are empty, illusory. Their real import is discovered only when they are seen in connection with the life-plan; that is the substance which fills out these forces with real content, which negotiates their associations with reality in general.

It may seem as if an insurmountable wall separates that which Freud, and Adler, represents, each in his own way, and as if their most zealous disciples were right in proclaiming that one must take sides in the

question. As the attempt to couple the two views together has been hitherto unsuccessful, it will in all probability show itself to be useless later on.

But if a broader view of the matter is taken, the situation changes and we find that both fundamental opinions are only two different standpoints from which the whole may be considered.

In choosing a point of outlook over all the growing phenomena of life, it is necessary to choose one which under all circumstances remains undisturbed. It is necessary to take fast hold of a fact, the surety of which can never even be brought into discussion and which at the same time has such radical importance that it always must be kept in mind. There are in reality only two such facts as these. The first is, that we all are born of woman and the second, that all must some time die.

If Freud's incest-doctrine is stripped of all its scientific adornment and disengaged from all its misleading terminology, it is seen that the kernel of it all is nothing but a presentation of this first fact. The way itself, in which we come into life, is so intimately bound up with material forces, that these in their entirety, must remain stamped by it. It implies a bondage from which we are unable to make ourselves free, we cannot even become wholly loosed from that form in which the bondage primarily was moulded. All experiences may be arranged under

this category as Freud has arranged them;—and thus one will arrive at his one-sided assertion of causality.

On the other hand all the final tendencies of the world's view point are woven into the fact that we shall some time stand before the inevitable; finis. Just as consciousness that the day comes to a close within a certain period of time, forces us to arrange, so that we finish what we ought and wish to do within that time, so the constant nearness of the fact of death in our consciousness, forces us to contrive our lives after certain directing lines. We must so establish ourselves that sometime we shall with dignity, be able to leave our lives behind us, a work completed. So strong is this need that we cannot withdraw one single moment of our lives from under its dominion; we thus arrange all occurrences in accordance with this fact.

As all in our lives, of which we have any knowledge, falls as to time, between two points, birth and death, so everything we think, desire, feel, bears the imprint of both these fundamental facts; all is a struggle between forces whose origin predominates in one or the other direction. Any genuine understanding of that which we experience and of our position in life in its totality, we may arrive at just as little on one as on the other, of these one-sided paths. As warped and unreal as a fact appears when illuminated exclusively from the viewpoint of birth, just

as warped and unreal does it appear when light shines upon it only from the opposite direction.

However many valuable contributions to our knowledge Adler's doctrine concerning neurosis has given us, on the whole it seems to me as little able to serve as a foundation for the needs of psychotherapy, as the Freud system itself.

V

THE NATURE OF HYPNOSIS

DURING the course of a practice which has given me opportunity to observe the phenomena of hypnosis about twenty thousand times, I have more and more separated my own thought from that of the general opinion concerning its nature. Above all, I have lost sympathy with Bernheim's dictum: "il n'y a pas d'hypnose, il n'y a que la suggestion." That this phrase won such strong approbation, seems to me to depend upon the fact, that it simplified to an inexpressible degree a very difficult problem. During the century that elapsed after the discovery of the peculiar condition now called hypnosis, innumerable investigators endeavored to find an explanation of it nature. When therefore, the foremost representative of this branch of research declared emphatically that the objective point for his research, generally speaking, did not exist, it came as a kind of relief. After that no one need trouble his brain to find further solution of the question; the whole theme could calmly be left where it was. How obstructive this phrase of Bernheim's has been,

not only to the development of the subject itself, but also to the use of hypnosis on the practical side, is easily to be seen if the literature is gone through. It will probably be difficult to find anyone who went farther in hypnotic research, without letting himself be influenced by this stumbling block in the path than Wetterstrand. For him hypnosis always remained a unique psycho-physiological condition, that must neither be confused with sleep nor with the waking state, and which, irrespective of all suggestion, had a high therapeutic value. Even if suggestion plays a certain rôle in the production of this condition, it can be called suggestion here just as little as in sleep or in death. This idea was the foundation for that method of treatment which Wetterstrand called "The Prolonged Sleep" and with which he undoubtedly achieved amazing results. How far we have come away from progress in this direction, is best shown in the fact that Wetterstrand got no followers in his own method. I shall not here refer to the old controversy; I have mentioned it thus briefly, merely to signify that I am myself most closely joined to Wetterstrand's out-of-date standpoint on this question. But for him also, as with the earlier investigators, hypnotism was always veiled in a certain mystical vagueness. The purpose of this paper is to point out with the greatest possible brevity, how for me it has lost this mystical stamp.

In order to get a clear picture of hypnosis, I have

at various times asked patients to give me a short and accurate description of what they felt while in the hypnotic condition. It seems to me better to take up here, one such description rather than a general collection of different experiences. The following was written by a woman of forty, whom I had under treatment for nervous vomiting and insomnia. She was intelligent, had read much, but knew nothing about hypnotic literature; what she wrote was derived directly from her own experience.

The first sensation of the psychic action is one of calm; every disturbing thought disappears and instead comes an impression of quietness that seems entirely physical. Every muscle relaxes and the eyes close almost involuntarily. Little by little, all perception of time disappears. That is the only thing which, from the beginning, one almost entirely loses. All sounds are heard as from a distance and a peaceful feeling of rest falls upon one mentally and physically. But this is of one's own free will, the feeling that one has one's self in hand need not disappear for an instant; one can, if one wishes, think quite clearly, open the eyes if one desires, hear what is said or what takes place nearby (unexpected noises one always hears), move as one desires, but one can also let all thoughts go and lie quite motionless. It is a matter of the will from the patient's side. Finally there comes the most wonderful sensation, a feeling of concentration of one's self within one's body, as if one were isolated within one's self. Everything disappears, only the I consciousness is left. This con-

centration is like the most absolute rest one can imagine. When this condition is reached it must be acknowledged that it requires a very great effort of will in order to think, move, or even open the eyes; it is possible to do it, but there is no desire. If a trial is made to move or think, regret quickly follows and one makes haste to sink back again into this Nirvana where one really loses neither consciousness nor individuality, but finds the most delightful rest than can be dreamed of. Then after the treatmen ceases, in the first few moments, one feels sleepy and unwilling to open the eyes, but after a very short period this desire to sleep disappears and one feels rested, alert, as if even the thought faculty had been sharpened and both mental and physical forces strengthened.

I have said that this patient was unacquainted with hypnotic literature. I must add that at the time of this written descripion, she had never been influenced by my suggestions. When I find hypnosis induced, it is my practice to permit it to develop as freely as possible; in advance I merely dispel false ideas regarding it, especially the common belief that it means a condition wherein consciousness is lost.

In this description however, those characteristic features appear, which are found in all descriptions and which must start either from an earlier period of time or from the animal magnetism period; admitting that these descriptions, especially those from

the former state, often are personally and even fantastically colored, there are nevertheless always some signs that are unmistakable. If it had to do only with the product of imagination, this unity would be hard to explain; it appears to me to show that it indicates a condition *sui generis*, which different people experience pretty much alike and of which in the attempt at description each one takes hold in his own way.

For the sake of simplicity I shall point out only five characteristic points.

1. That which to the patient was most obvious, was the fact that consciousness was retained, although single objects disappeared out of it. The psychologist is at once ready to object that this is not possible. To all intents and purposes indeed, consciousness disappears, according to all our ordinary experiences, at the moment we cease to occupy ourselves with a specific thing. If during the night we waken for a moment from sleep, we only realize something of it because of the dream-pictures which at the instant glided past us. And yet it cannot be denied that a true observation lies at the bottom of the patient's description. I have often from different patients, heard the word Nirvana; is not this meant to signify a disappearance of all the world, without the cessation of life because of that disappearance? Admitting that such a thing cannot be wholly realized, in hypnosis there is however a tendency in

that direction which never has been carried into effect, to quite so great a degree, in any other way.

2. The patient pointed out a peculiar feeling of concentration within herself; a kind of flowing together of all that energy which generally is divided between the common affairs of the world, the self, the patient's own body—i. e. the isolating of the individual within himself. The phenomenon was plain to Liébeault, when he founded the modern theory of hypnosis. He laid stress upon the way in which the attention draws itself back from those things within the physical sphere, and thus becomes accumulated in the brain ("l' accumulation de l'attention"):—he explained the pathologic and therapeutic phenomena as a directing and concentrating of the attention of the patient, who had thus been made free.

3. If one takes as a point of procedure this specific isolating within itself of the organism, the psychic changes during hypnosis become easier to understand. These have been looked upon as phenomena of suggestion (by Hirschlaff and others), but this idea does not fit in with my own experience. Even if these changes could be intensified suggestively in different directions, there is, nevertheless, in hypnosis a kind of spontaneous preparation for them, to which this intensification is added. The condition of hypnosis means a partial cutting off of connection with the outside world, which spontaneously carries with

it a decline of the mental functions. Subjectively this is bound up with a feeling which every one who has experienced it, is reluctant to give up. It is described generally as a sensation of heaviness, which commonly starts in the feet and afterwards spreads over the whole body, until the patient finally lies as if paralyzed. A colleague whom I treated for morphinism, characterized this sensation more as one of pressure, which from every side, acted upon the body. He found this sensation so typical, that he had the impression that hypnosis could be induced in this way; that is to say, by applying to various parts of the body tightly pressing weights, so that the fundamental idea of hypnosis might be suggested into the consciousness and then hypnosis itself would appear by means of associated reflexes. Objectively this sensation of weight or pressure corresponds to that of catalepsy. Characteristic to it (as may be observed from the written description cited), is rather a disinclination to move than an inability to do so; in other words, the motionless state is here natural and may be overcome only by a disagreeable exertion of energy.

4. Further I must mention the automatism, although this appears only indirectly in the description cited. This has always been considered as a real characteristic of the deep sleep. The disinclination to move develops into an aversion towards all changes; a movement which has been started from without, is

thus permitted to continue without effort to interrupt it. But it is of greater importance that the automatism of the physiological functions is reinforced during hypnosis. In ordinary circumstances these are easily disturbed by innumerable things which aggravate, in both a physical and psychic way; when, during hypnosis, all these things fall away, a regulating of the bodily functions sets in, which for the understanding of the therapeutic value of hypnosis is of the greatest importance.

5. In the description cited the patient time after time reached this typical state of rest. And it is a point upon which much stress is laid in all other descriptions. Just as in this description, the impression is continually given, that it signifies a sensation which only to a small degree can be characterized by the word, rest; that it means something for which speech has no word—and this for the simple reason that it has no existence in ordinary life. In practice the word sleep must perforce, be made use of; but this unfortunately always brings about a misunderstanding.

The study of hypnosis is made much more difficult because it very seldom appears in its pure form. In general practice what, as a rule, is observed, is only one or the other of the above mentioned features, supplementing the waking condition. If the state of hypnosis becomes deeper, sleep struggles to take control, and the result is either one or another cross-

ing with that. If hypnosis is to be seen in a purer form it is necessary above all to strive after it. To be convinced that this purer form does not exist and to be influenced in one's work by this conviction is sufficient reason for never observing it. So it is possible to see very little of it if one, like Hirschlaff for example, gives on an average of only ten minutes for each séance; for in so short a time it is, as a rule, impossible to produce the deeper state of hypnosis. A much longer time must be counted upon if one wishes to become convinced of its therapeutic activity. I have very often had opportunities to observe how various pains, cramps and other neurotic symptoms, which have not been influenced by an hour's hypnotic treatment, disappear after two or three hours. However it is not my intention to take up here the therapeutic side of the question. That demands particular work in the discussion of different cases, in order to separate the results of hypnosis from those of suggestion. So far as I understand it, the idea of suggestion must be stretched out until it becomes all-inclusive, if a specific curative action in hypnosis alone is to be denied;—but with any such extension of an idea, science comes to an end.

Before I set forth my opinion concerning the nature of hypnosis I must make plain a few points about the manner of inducing it, by the aid of which I arrived at this conclusion.

The first observation which led my thoughts in this direction, I made more than eight years ago. I had been called to a country estate, where a seventeen year old boy had for some years suffered from headache, on account of which he had been obliged to break off his studies. The pain was plainly of psychic origin, and I explained this to him in all its connections. I then wished to make a trial to treat him hypnotically and told him to lie down upon a couch. He looked at me then with much fear expressed in his face and asked:—"Do you intend to hypnotize me?" I replied in the affirmative and quieted him. He then said with deep earnestness,—"I put myself into your hands with complete confidence, doctor." He lay down and fell at once into a deep sleep. When I awoke him some hours later, he said:—"It was so wonderful. When you laid your hand on my forehead, I had exactly the same feeling as when I was chloroformed last summer before an operation for appendicitis, only with the difference that this time I did not lose consciousness." After this single treatment he remained definitely free from headaches.

To a certain degree, hypnosis in this case, may be looked upon as a reproduction of the insensibility of chloroform; that is to say, the fear in the beginning, (natural before a dangerous operation), and the sudden entrance into a similar physiological condition. Hypnosis would thus be the suggestive release of a

condition rehearsed in another way. But on the other hand it can not be absolutely explained in this way. It differed from the chloroform insensibility, partly in that consciousness was retained, partly in that there resulted an indubitable therapeutic action. I consider that the hypnosis thus became a reflexive relapse into an earlier state of the organism. This state cannot be identified with the chloroform insensibility, but must be sought elsewhere; the chloroform insensibility had simply the importance of having acted as a preparation for this relapse.

I have often observed something similar to this. With experiences of this kind the importance of the staging of the forms of sleep may be connected. Especially instructive in this regard is the treatment of alcoholists and morphinists. Generally these are easily approached through hypnosis. In order to explain this fact the "dissociation of the nervous system" is spoken of, but just what the meaning of this phrase is, is not pointed out. It seems to me that the matter ought rather to be understood as a reflex reproduction of the intoxication, in the same way as in the chloroform insensibility. Patients who have the morphine-drowsiness fresh in mind, say almost as in accord to some rule, after the first hypnotic treatment: "It was exactly as if I had had morphine!" One patient of mine, an alcoholist, looked delighted and exclaimed:—"That was just as good as a genu-

ine spree!" Here may also be found the cause for the peculiar fact that desire for alcohol often disappears after the very first hypnosis. The patient no longer needs the external means for producing intoxication; it comes through reflex action. The further treatment is then based upon the fact that the weaning from hypnosis is easier than is the weaning from the alcohol habit. But as little as with the chloroform insensibility, must hypnosis be identified with the morphine- or alcohol-intoxication. The woman who gave me the description of her sensations while under hypnotic treatment, which I have made use of in this paper, felt at first a similarity between hypnosis and the morphinist's condition; but no one could possibly confound this description with a description of the morphine-intoxication. Considered aside from this, hypnosis has a therapeutic action of quite another sort than has morphine. We must also in such cases allow for the fact that the poisons have acted as a kind of preparation of the way. But hypnosis succeeds just as well with people who have never experienced such action from drugs; that is to say the return to some condition earlier experienced, may occur without any such kind of preparation.

When it now becomes a question of finding out when and how this condition, which during the state of hypnosis takes the upper hand, is worked into the organism, there is one fact which at once forces itself

forward. It has been agreed upon by all investigators that the possibility of entering the hypnotic state diminishes with years. That is to say, that with each year the individual gets farther away from this possibility. It is then necessary to take only one step more to arrive at the following:—*hypnosis is a temporary sinking back into that primary state of rest which obtained during fetal life.*

I also constitute the thing as follows:—birth is a violent revolution through which the hitherto harmonious existence is rent asunder. The human being comes into touch with the external world, and in connection therewith develops a new state of the organism which we call the waking life. This condition must be balanced by another also new condition; so sleep comes. The two conditions are contradictions which can be understood only in and through each other. Looked at psychologically we must suppose a fetal consciousness, even if this is so far removed from us, that we do not see any analogy at all through which we can comprehend it. It is as impossible for us to imagine a life without consciousness as to imagine an object which occupies no place in space. Through the division of existence at birth, a development of the consciousness arises in two directions:—the one has as its goal our wide-awake relation with the world, the other our dream world. Physiologically the organism adjusts itself to these new demands. The ele-

ment of destruction which the waking life carries with it, makes it necessary that the organism even more strongly than before, may be able to concentrate itself upon the inner reconstruction,—as this occurs during sleep.

But at the time of such splitting up of the primal state of rest, a trace of it still is left in the organism. We here find a circumstance that recurs with the constructing of all new organs and functions. If there is no effort toward supporting this trace, it is soon covered up during the progress of life, and the primal rest-state can no longer be brought into function. How it again is brought into the life through hypnotic treatment, is connected with methods and leads to questions which I cannot here discuss.

If, proceeding from this opinion concerning the matter, the five characteristics of the hypnotic state which I have pointed out are called to mind, it is easy to understand the idea without further explanation.

1. If we reckon only with consciousness after birth, it is quite true that an existence is unrecognized by the psychologist, where this state of primal-rest is still preserved although detached things disappear out of it. In order to understand the fact that such a condition shows itself during hypnosis, it is necessary to go back to the existence prior to birth. No matter how little we may know concerning consciousness as existing in that state, so

much may be quite certain,—that it is not occupied with a single thing belonging to the outside world. So considered it may not be too bold to presume that all the Nirvana fantasies are added to this trace of memory.

2. Concentration in itself takes the thought to a time when that division, which the relation with the world carries with it, had not yet arisen. The isolation is a reproduction of that form in which we lived when we were, as yet, unattached by any bond to the external world.

3. To understand the physiological condition, it must be pointed out, that the mental functions first begin to act when the skin starts to play its part in fixing boundaries against the outer world. What is so characteristic in hypnosis,—the withdrawal of energy from the surface of the body, is thus nothing but a regression to the state during an epoch when this had, as yet, not been projected,—when the surface of the body as such did not yet exist. Catalepsy is, in the same way, a regression to the fetal form of muscular function. That which seems to me to stand out most clearly about the cataleptic state is not the fact that the extremities remain in whatever uncomfortable position in which they may be placed, but that this phenomenon occurs without any feeling of weariness. It seems to be explainable only as a regression to a state, in which the feeling of weariness had not yet arisen,—in which thus

remaining in a very uncomfortable attitude was natural. The disappearance of pain and other phenomena during hypnosis, becomes also in this way understandable; they doubtless originate from functions which may not have been in activity during the fetal life.

The feeling of pressure is a re-experiencing of the intra-uterine pressure. The question should be raised as to whether no other traces of memory from fetal life may be pointed out during hypnosis. A male patient said to me after the first séance, that during the whole time he had had a sensation as if his body swayed back and forth as in a swing. A young woman complained, after a prolonged sleep, that the ground swayed under her. When I paid closer attention to this, it appeared that she had already had a feeling that the bed was swaying under her in the same way, during the first treatment I gave her. I reproved her for not telling me this at once, so that I might have had an opportunity to suggest the idea away. She answered that she had believed this sensation to be necessarily connected with hypnosis. That there is not more frequent opportunity to observe such sensations, very likely has its reason in the fact that the hypnotist immediately tries to suppress all attempts in that direction by means of counter suggestions.

4. The prominence of automatism in hypnosis indicates the return to a form of life when the in-

dividual was nothing but an automatically regulated vegetative organ within the mother.

5. If this opinion is correct it is easily understood how hypnosis is able to bring about a state of rest, with which no other kind of rest can be compared. Patients often say after an hour's hypnotic sleep, that they feel more refreshed than after sleeping the whole night. Only in one way is the detachment from everything which keeps a tension upon us possible, namely through a sinking back into a condition when this tension had not yet begun to exist.

It ought now through experiment to be easy to find confirmation of this opinion regarding the nature of hypnosis. Unfortunately I have not had opportunity to do this; I have been obliged to satisfy myself with whatever observations I could make in my practice.

I should like however to give an idea of one way of going about such experimentation. People who have undergone psychanalysis, describe many different dream situations which they carry back to the fetal memory-trace. One should be able to investigate how numerous such cases are; if hypnotism is crossed with sleep and if dream-pictures present themselves when the content of the waking consciousness disappears. In actual practice it is always necessary to direct the consciousness towards a decided goal; consequently one has in practice no opportunity to make such observations. But in this

connection I wish to call to mind a circumstance belonging to the time prior to the discovery of suggestion, when the sleeping patient was left to himself with whatever fancies arose in his mind. It was found then, that the world of imagination was generally ruled by one single theme, namely the internal organs of the body. On account of this arose the teaching concerning clairvoyance:—people believed that the medium was able to actually see the workings of the various organs. It seems to me that the matter ought to be explained thus: that during sleep the deeply buried sensations from the fetal period, again come to life and then with the assistance of later acquired idea-material, construct out of themselves all those descriptions which fill the literature of animal-magnetism.

Finally I want to point out the practical conclusion of my opinion regarding the nature of hypnosis. In the course of the years during which this opinion was becoming constantly more clear to me, I acquired a surer foundation for hypnotic-therapy. If the opinion proves itself true it will also become more clearly possible to judge than it hitherto has been, in which cases treatment by hypnosis is indicated; it will no longer be necessary as heretofore, to fumble about in the maze of possibilities and to experience disappointments in practice.

Even more important does it seem to me to be that a sure way of producing hypnosis can be found

in all those cases in which its use is desirable. For all who are engaged in making use of hypnotism as a method of treatment it may then be a certainty, that the neurotic who is reachable through hypnosis, has in it a powerful weapon against illness; we have all probably had the bitter experience of finding that our most earnest effort to produce hypnosis has, sometimes, been unsuccessful and this may be the chief reason why this mode of treatment does not develop more rapidly.

Here then, the problem is changed. Instead of asking how shall hypnosis be induced the question is: how may the state of primal-rest be prevented from disappearing so entirely, that it no longer can be actualized? The practical answer to this question is very simple. Almost without exception the attempt to hypnotize a child succeeds, and if hypnotism has been practiced upon the child, it may in the majority of cases be brought into activity during riper years.

Neurosis is, as psychanalysis undoubtedly shows, no single limited happening in the life of the adult; it is rather to be considered as a colored thread which starting in childhood runs on through life and twines itself around life's varied experiences in every direction, trying to bring existence into a state of confusion. In consequence one ought, through close observation, to be able to make the diagnosis dur-

ing childhood. If the first symptoms then can not be overcome, at least the child should be given the weapon which hypnosis provides, to help towards overcoming the threatening enemy.

VI

THE CONSCIOUS VERSUS THE UNCONSCIOUS

I WAS once spending a few days in a foreign town, when a woman called upon me to get my opinion regarding her case. In appearance she was delicately built, and impressed me as one who had suffered much. She gave me the following history:— At the age of twenty-four she had made a love-match. She was now in her early forties. Her husband was a professor and had always entertained the warmest affection for her. She was able to say that, up to the time of her present illness, her married life had been an unusually happy one. She had had four children who were all in good health and well developed. Her way of life was frugal but it was without financial worries. Her last child had been born ten years prior to the time of her consultation with me, and it was from that occurrence she dated the beginning of her present condition. The delivery of this child had been a very severe ordeal and had been followed by puerperal fever. She had been confined for many weeks to her bed, lingering between life and death, and her vitality

had been very greatly depleted. She had since always imagined that this exhaustion had been the cause of the condition which followed. The connection between cause and effect had, however, remained a secret over which she had, during all these years, daily brooded.

During the attack of puerperal fever she had been treated most skillfully by an elderly physician. Some times he had made his call in the evening, staying for a time in the twilight, merely sitting quietly beside her bed. She noticed how after a time, he gradually occupied more and more of her thoughts, so that she began to long for his visits and found the time he spent with her, the only time of the whole day when she really felt any pleasure in life. She guarded every word he spoke to her and began finally to talk with him in her thoughts.

The feeling she entertained regarding the matter became something almost sacred to her, something for which she certainly, at that time, had no fear. She believed that it arose only from her illness and because of the fact that the doctor had a quieting influence upon her. She was sure that in her inner life she would return to her usual condition, as soon as the illness no longer separated her from the normal external state of affairs. But after her recovery it quickly became clear to her that the doctor had made so deep an impression upon her mind, that she was unable to make herself free from him. As

soon as she awoke in the morning, she saw him, mentally, before her; wondered if she would, possibly, meet him during the day; what he might then be doing; if he was thinking about her, etc. If she went out she thought she saw him in every other man she met. If the telephone rang, she thought, "That must be he!" If she read something, in her thoughts she talked it over with him. If she sat alone, letting her thoughts wander where they would, one fantasy after another obtruded itself upon her and everything was connected with him. Shortly, in every minute of the day, in everything she attempted to do, he was not only present, but was even the central point about which all else revolved.

These experiences were very strange to her and all her pleasure in life little by little was destroyed by this hopeless brooding. She was obliged over and over again to ask herself, if she did in truth belong to this man and what would happen if he should say to her: "Come to me." Sometimes she felt herself so entirely a part of him that she thought she would be able to give up everything else for his sake. But at the same time she could not believe that all her married life had been built upon a lie. She belonged to her husband and her children and under all circumstances would she remain in her home. She talked the whole thing over with her husband, but he was not able to advise her. In her need she went to the doctor, with whom she now no

longer met, and frankly related the entire story to him, hoping that this might bring relief. But it did not help matters as he was quite as much at a loss as her husband had been. She perceived that if she did not wish to become wholly a wreck, she would have to put aside all these ruinous thoughts. With all the strength that was inherent in the purity of her character, she struggled against the doctor as against an enemy. Every hour of the day she filled with useful work and in the evening went, exhausted, to bed. Only after some years of this was she successful in feeling a sense of freedom for perhaps half an hour or a little more during the day. In this way she had lived for ten whole years.

The history of course turned my thoughts into a definite direction. I asked her some questions about her childhood and more about her married life.

She had been brought up under happy circumstances. Her father was a teacher. Both parents were still living. She had one brother and the parents were accustomed to say that he was his mother's boy while she belonged to her father. As a little child she has been often ill and at such times she had been treated by her father with the greatest tenderness. She could still recall the nights of fever when he had sat beside her bed. She had loved him with all the fanciful adoration of a child. One detail directed my attention to the great influence he had had upon the development of her life. At her con-

firmation, he had given her a book in which he had written some lines. These words had burned themselves into her mind and had become the guiding motive of her whole life.

As to her married life, the fact that her husband was delicate at the time of their marriage, played a certain rôle. The feeling of love for him had come upon her gradually. A friend had been accustomed to say to her: "That man should be your husband. You could make something of him and help him recover his health." Undoubtedly the mother-feeling for the man was one of the chief ingredients in the emotional-complex of her love and it continued so to be in the time that followed. But she had had nothing to regret. With great satisfaction she had realized how her husband became happier and healthier. She had herself always been dearly loved by him and in the beginning had been as much satisfied as a wife, generally speaking perhaps, can be. Nevertheless, there was in her life a kind of emptiness from which she was unable to escape and which, as the years went by, increased. On the one hand she sometimes felt a passing erotic emotion towards men whom she occasionally met and whom she did not at all wish to approach. This troubled her very much. In her secret thoughts always she wished to remain true to her husband. She brooded over the question as to whether there was some defect in him, or if she herself were really a bad woman, or if perhaps,

every woman had something of this feeling. On the other hand she was sometimes tortured by an uncomfortable, undefined longing. It was hard for her to describe in words, just in what this consisted. She could express it best perhaps by saying that she wished that she might for once be loved, not as a mother, not as a wife, but exclusively for her own sake, quite independently of the question as to whether she were useful to her husband or not. Some depths in her innate womanly nature revolted against the married life. She was ashamed of it but she could not deny it.

Here apparently was an example of Freud's discovery of the transference of the father-complex to the doctor.

The explanation of this idea made a deep impression upon the patient. On the one hand she at once got hold of a vague idea that this was the secret of her trouble; on the other hand she understood that she would never have been able to discover it for herself, even if she had pondered over it the whole of her life through.

When she returned to me the following day, she was able to relate many details which, in the interval, had come into her mind and which confirmed my theory. Among those compulsion-fantasies which had the doctor as their central point, the following riddle for example, came back again and again: she seemed to be sitting on a little footstool

in the corner of a room. The doctor was walking up and down reading a book. She sat quite still, listening to his footsteps and feeling the greatest contentment. She recognized here the newly-constructed impression of a recollection from childhood. Just like this she had been accustomed to sit upon a footstool in a corner of her father's study and he had had the habit of walking in this way, up and down as he read. She had often, too, pondered over the following detail: When in imagination she again lived through the visit of the doctor, she recalled how he never rang as other visitors did; he opened the door for himself and she heard his steps at once outside in the entrance hall. Just in this way had she always heard her father when he came home. Shortly one problem after another found its natural solution.

* * *

There is nothing novel in this history. I have selected it because of its unusual simplicity and because to me it seems rather well adapted for throwing light upon a question which in my opinion involves the cardinal point in psychanalytical-therapy. In this case we confront a division of the personality into two parts between which the patient wavers, unable to find rest in either direction. One part consists of the past life, the childhood, condensed in the

figure of the father; the other consists of the present which has its center in the married life and in everything connected with that. It may also be said that one part consists of the repressed portion of the life, that is to say, of the unconscious; the other of the conscious. The neurosis arose because the organization of these two worlds which had been built up in the course of the patient's life, was broken up so that in her actual life two opposing complexes, which under normal circumstances must have excluded each other, began to struggle against each other. It resulted in the situation:—the conscious versus the unconscious. Something akin to this is to be found in every form of neurosis. What is to be said concerning this case may therefore easily be applicable to every case.

At the point in the description of the case where I broke off, the unconscious confusion lay broadly before me. But by means of such an explanation the patient is not helped. Notwithstanding the fact that the intellect can grasp the condition of compulsion, the patient remains as unhappy as before. The question must present itself: "What shall I now do? In what way can this new knowledge aid me?" And subsequently the analyst must ask himself: "How shall I proceed with this treatment?"

The question has become a very real one in psychanalysis. It is, e. g., to be found in the last number (1913, No. IV) "Die Zietschrift für

ärtzliche Psychoanalyse," in Ferenczi's article on Jung's "Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido." He says:

He (Jung) considers the most important factor in the treatment of nervous patients to be the guiding back to the road of reality, from which they have been turned aside. But we still maintain that the closest and most important realities for the patient are the symptoms of his illness, and that because of this we should be concerned only with these. When one directs the attention of the patient upon his life-work it results only in making him suffer the more, because of his inability to perform that work. The life-plan of the patient ought not to be taken into consideration in making the analysis; if it is carried deeply enough the patient finds a way out of his difficulty for himself, without assistance. The proper analytical technique must try to make the patient so independent of the analyst that he will no longer care for his advice.

According to Ferenczi therefore the matter should be treated in the following manner:—one should begin in the usual way and through free associations bring still more material out of the unconscious. This should be done without any tendency on the part of the analyst; that is to say, the analyst should work in the same manner as a chemist who decomposes some substance into its elements. Practically, in the case under consideration the method would be as follows: we should here break up the

whole related history into its separate parts as a dream is broken up, with its separate dream-pictures, and investigate each and every one of these parts to discover what is hidden therein. We should examine every passing erotic-inclination and bring every possible thing to light in all that has connection with it. Every memory from childhood, every experience of the married-life should be treated in the same way and after this the patient should be dismissed.

The first question which now arises is this:—Can analysis ever be made so entirely free from the assumption of something, as it should be, if a principle like this is followed?

Opponents of psychanalysis often assert that the analyst always knows just what the end of the analysis will be as soon as the beginning of it is known. I will not say if there is any truth in that opinion or not. But I believe that it is not possible to remain entirely free from assumptions. Unless the analyst makes the case clear for himself and if during the treatment he is not led by a general opinion of the individual situation, there is danger always of being guided by an assumed theory. No one can assert any injustice towards psychanalysts on my behalf, if I say that I believe that there are those who in the case cited, would eventually have arrived at the incest-complex. They would have so conducted the analysis that, through free associa-

tions, they might bring into light the idea that all the erotic inclinations were substitutes for the father and that the experiences of the married-life were carried over from childhood memories. The prevailing theory is so firmly fixed in many heads, that it overrules all other directing motives. We must all agree that life cannot be compressed into any one theory, even if this has its origin in the highest genius and appears to be all-embracing.

In working out the analysis of a life in its varying fluctuations, one ought never to begin from a point external to the individual; the point from which the analysis is begun, must be sought for within the individual. In reading reports of the ordinary analyses it is difficult not to wonder if the resistance of the patient is not a resistance against the theory of the analyst rather than against the truth. If an individual opposes himself against truth it is unnatural and must be overcome, but if he opposes himself against the fixing of his mind into a strange theory, then it is the result of the instinctive feeling of self-preservation, and this should be respected.

But if I take the position that analysis can be carried out without theoretical assumptions, the question arises, what is the therapeutic value of permitting the unconscious material of life to inundate the consciousness in this way.

It is possible to argue the question after which principle the unconscious material of life is ar-

ranged, that is to say if it is entirely subordinated to the lust-principle or not. One thing may be sure, viz: it is not arranged after any principle that means an absolute adaptation to life. I mean, when it is made apparent to the consciousness, it does not automatically arrange itself so that the patient immediately finds his way back to life. To believe something like that, would be to make of the unconscious a god. In comparison with the consciousness, the unconscious contains something of chaos. Now the neurosis consists in the fact that the patient has not been able to discover a way out of that part of life which he, hitherto, has known. How then would he find his way out of the new chaos? Imagine for instance the patient in the case here cited. Hitherto she had lived in a kind of hell because she did not know whether her life was bound up with that of the doctor or with that of her husband. Now in addition, she must ponder the question whether she may not in the same way be bound up with any of those other men for whom she had had a fleeting erotic inclination. So would she become entangled in a thousand new problems.

What Ferenczi says concerning the purpose of making the patient independent of the analyst is quite justifiable. But the patient never becomes so before he has acquired a genuine connection with life. The leaving of a patient in a condition wherein he finds his life becoming only a much more difficult

problem to solve, means that he must either remain a neurotic or else seek help in some other direction.

To me it seems that this fundamental principle of psychanalysis is the remnant of its first epoch. At that time there was belief in a solution by way of intellectuality; if repressed wishes only could come into the consciousness, everything would regulate itself. That opinion has of course been changed. But analysis is nevertheless made use of in a way that makes it appear that the opinion is still tenable.

This epoch brought us much new information concerning the unconscious life, and there can be no doubt that further work along these lines will show still richer results. But that is a scientific matter which only indirectly has a therapeutic value. I believe that a clearer standpoint upon these questions can only be reached when we separate science more decidedly than is generally done, from the art of healing. Here we have something analogous to that which occurred in the first days of the hypnotic era. Nobody is likely to try to refute the great scientific value of Charcot's explanation of hysteria. That the experiments he made had any therapeutic worth he did not himself pretend. To me, it seems that the violent attacks against psychanalysis sometimes have root in the fact that something is claimed for therapeutics, which really has only scientific

value. Therapeutics is more decidedly an art in itself and must not be subordinated to science.

I am therefore unable to agree with Ferenczi concerning the matter of the continuation of the treatment in the case cited. I rather here, ally myself to Jung's opinion:—the task of the physician is to show the patient the way to reality; and in order to avoid misconceptions I should like to point out what I mean by the word "reality." In introducing into empirical research an idea which has been mishandled by metaphysical philosophy, there is easily danger of introducing something of speculation which is out of place there. In looking at anything from the empirical point of view we are living in a world of relative conditions; an absolute reality never comes into question. It is only an adaptation of one's self to the external part of existing relative conditions and that adaptation must be looked upon as the best possible one, which, in the highest degree develops pleasure, the making free of forces, power over one's life, in short everything that for us means the affirmation of life itself. Instead of seeking after absolute reality, *that which has the highest reality value should be sought.*

According to Jung it is not enough that the material of the unconscious life be brought to light. It is necessary that the patient be taught to attain power over it, to apprehend the difference between actuality and illusion. An understanding must be

accorded him, as to where the different ways between which he has to choose, will lead, etc. Psychanalysis here ceases to be something for itself alone and becomes subordinated to a principle which may be considered the chief principle of psychotherapy. Here is a bridge which joins psychanalysis to other psychotherapeutic endeavors. The analysis must be gone through with because the road to reality is blocked by unconscious complexes, because the patient is driven away from that road by unconscious forces, not because the analysis in itself has any healing value.

But in replying to the question as to the continuation of the treatment in this way, the answer is by no means made clear. We have arrived only at that place where we stand before the real cardinal point of psychanalytical-therapy. This may be formulated as follows:—ought the highest reality value to be placed upon the unconscious or upon the conscious life? I said before that that point should be sought within the patient, from which life shall be made clear to him; in this search then, ought the central point of the conscious or that of the unconscious mind be chosen?

This question must have a decided answer, if, as in the case cited in this paper, the unconscious mind is in such a struggle with the conscious, that no accommodation is possible,—that either the one or the other must become subordinated. Briefly, the

question must be decided as to whether the father-complex or the later years are to be declared the factor which played the part of reality in the patient's life; upon this decision hangs the following interpretation of the case.

If the first possibility is chosen, the patient would be addressed something like this: "You have idolized your father and he has dominated the whole development of your life. Have you really ever become free from him? I can scarcely believe so. What was it that held you back at the time when first you met the man who afterwards became your husband? It was that bond which attached you to your father. To sacrifice him would have meant to sacrifice so much of yourself that never again could you have found happiness in life. The feeling you have for your father you call love, and doubtless you have regarded it as something ideal. If you examine it more clearly you will discover that this feeling was not entirely free from sensuality. It was a sensual pleasure to you when he cared for you. If you recall the sensations with which you were filled when he touched you,—caressed you,—dressed you,—put you to bed, you will find that the body played a great part in all this. That you have never been free in your sexual-life is evident from the passing erotic inclinations you have described. You have always longed in vain for something. This inability to become free has its root in the fact that your

sexual impulses have been bound up in your father. Neither in the ideal love nor in the sensual love have you succeeded in breaking loose from him. All that which you have lived in the past has been a substitute for him. Especially has the love for your husband been such a substitute. For a certain number of years you succeeded in maintaining the illusion of freedom in the married life. But nature cannot be driven away. When you became ill and so no longer had the power to keep nature from you by means of self-suggestions of happiness, the father once more laid claim to that which already was his. This time he came to you embodied in the doctor. Upon this doctor you were able to transfer in highest degree, the love for your father; in speaking of love in connection with your life, it would mean this feeling to which we must refer. Your father is the substituted picture. Had you been able to follow this feeling you could also have experienced a much stronger sexual freedom when in the married life," etc.

It must, however, be made clear that if the patient had been shown this way to reality, in the further analysis one would expect to find more testimony for the supposition that this way was the right one. The unconscious mechanism is thus fixed upon as the reality and everything that is brought to light appears as a ratification of it. If this way is false it may never be amenable to correction; the patient

will be driven still farther on the already chosen path. Resistances which try to block the path will be regarded as resistances which must be overcome. The patient struggles against a change of the values in life, which seem doubtful to him. This struggle is really just as definite as the struggle which a fixed theory involves.

I do not know if any analyst would use analysis just in this way. In the literature concerning it there is sometimes a tendency in this direction. The reason for this is that sexuality is looked upon as a fixed system of forces which can be repressed, but not made free. Now since incest is the nucleus of this system of forces it would be the final consequence of the whole idea to declare that one must adapt one's self to incest if one would arrive at actual sexual freedom at all. It is a fact that Freud has already reached this conclusion. To me it is hard to make anything else out of the following lines: "It sounds unpleasant and it is still more paradoxical, but it must nevertheless be said, that, whoever would be really free and therefore happy in the love-life must give up respect for women and adapt himself to the idea of incest with mother and sister." * It would have been very considerate to say the least, if Freud had given an example from his own

* Freud. Beiträge zur Psychology des Liebeslebens. Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschung. Band IV. Heft 1.

knowledge wherein any contemporary human-being had arrived at happiness and inner freedom by way of incestuous practices. If a theory leads to consequences which evidently are contrary to the most simple facts, there must be some falsity in its fundamental principles.

Jung's libido-opinion upon this point must be acknowledged as an invaluable step ahead. He removes from the idea that rigidity which not only is strange to the libido but to all that concerns life itself. Instead he puts into the idea the faculty for transformation which is everywhere to be observed. As I agree with Jung in my opinion as to the purpose of the treatment of the case under consideration, I must also agree with him on this point.

Every tendency which proclaims the unconscious mind to be the reality and leads the patient to adapt himself to its mechanism, I regard as false. If a choice must necessarily be made between the unconscious and the conscious it seems to me evident that the highest reality belongs to the conscious life. If I should give my reasons for this belief, it would lead to a discussion of the nature of the unconscious mind which would go beyond the limits of this paper. I must therefore confine myself to a relation of the leading thoughts in my actual talk with the patient.

I said to her something like the following: "The nucleus of your illness lies in the fact that uncon-

sciously you have confounded the personality of your father with that of the doctor. What you must now do is to get a right comprehension of this mistake and then you will also understand how to make yourself free from the consequences of it.

"Life is a process of creation, through which every day, every minute, we endeavor to produce a value out of the material of the time that has passed. During the puerperal fever you became separated from the incessant progressive production of the real being. Instead of making use of the present, instead of advancing towards the future, you sank back into a time gone by. Present reality disappeared, as far as you were concerned, and that part of your life through which you already had passed became your actual state of existence. Because of the illness you again became a little, helpless child; the nights of fever in your childhood and the memories bound up in these, once more filled your consciousness. You again felt a yearning for the bliss you had experienced when your father cared for you in your helplessness. Too exhausted to bring about that correction which belongs to the normal process of life, every longing fancy was changed into a fact. When you felt the doctor near you, his personality was so interwoven with the memory of your father that you were unable to separate one thread from another. As you returned after your convalescence, to reality, you brought with you this fragment

of illusion into your daily life. That you have clung to it with such tenacity, has a special reason. You have told me about a feeling of emptiness in your life, about an incomprehensible, haunting longing. On the one hand your married life has not become what you desired; on the other, you have revolted against filling up this emptiness with an intrigue with any of those for whom you have had a passing erotic feeling. Notwithstanding your consideration for husband and children, you have felt instinctively that you were not upon the right road. During your exhaustion you glided out of real life and then a new way of filling the emptiness arose,—namely that of fantasy or illusion. Then out of the past you dug up that situation which most closely corresponded to that for which you yearned. You wanted to be loved for your own sake alone, setting aside the question as to whether or not you were useful to your husband. Such a love as this, in its deepest sense, exists only in the heart of the parent for the child. Among grown people, a kind of reciprocity always plays a part in love. So you saved yourself from being undeceived concerning what life had in store for you, by going back to the early days of your childhood;—then you were torn between two worlds, between that of the child and that of the adult. But now you must go farther in the creating of your real existence. Your illness should mean nothing to you excepting that you have

gone back for the purpose of fetching a lost value, which you wanted to maintain in your life. You can be happy in the fact that your love-life became so well fixed as it did in your childhood years, in your connection with your father;—but that should be a fact in itself, which ought not to be mixed up with your life as a married woman. Nothing would have been more fatal than if you had been able to give way to your feeling for the doctor; that would have meant the running after an illusion;—so your life would probably have come into hopeless confusion. You may be sure that your married life is built up upon a safe foundation. If, however, it has not brought you entire gratification, it is not impossible that it will do so in the future. This will come to pass the more, just as you the more find in it an outlet for all the dammed-up feeling in your heart. Apparently much depends upon your husband. If he brings to you real understanding for what you suffer, he will be able to fill the emptiness which has hitherto been a factor in your life. In any case you must make use of all your forces to free yourself from this unreal part of your life and to develop your married life to the highest possible degree of perfection."

* * *

If psychanalysis is used in this way as a means by which the patient is helped to come back to reality

and if it is regarded as the desired conscious adaptation to life, the treatment will not be carried on so irrelevantly.

For example as regards the length of time needed. The contention is often made that psychanalysis is a very tedious method. But what makes this tediousness necessary is the accumulation of material from the unconscious mind. In confining one's self to the exposition of the unconscious connections in broad lines, the position will be different. As an example I can once more use the case cited. As I shall quickly show, this treatment reached as satisfactory a result as could be wished for; and for this only three hours were necessary. I make no claim that such great curtailment may as a rule, be looked for, I will only emphasize that under fortunate circumstances it is possible. What made it possible in this case was the fact that the disturbance had not advanced to the state when nervous symptoms were produced. The conflict was yet in a sort of prolonged nascent state. If compulsion- or conversion-symptoms had developed the treatment must have been of much longer duration. Under such circumstances much material is necessary for the purpose of convincing the patient of the real connections; the facts which show that the interpretation is the correct one must be brought up over and over again. And this may take years.

But there is still another thing which may make

the treatment tedious and that is the fact that psychic changes come about slowly. Opposing such curtailment as was reached in this case, it may be asserted that in the course of days or weeks no result can be observed. The neurosis is not a limited episode in the life of the patient. The neurosis is a thread that starts at birth and ends with death. The treatment brings about a change; the value of this change really can be appreciated only when a view over the whole life is obtained. The greatest change is a change from a negative to a positive state of existence. The purpose is reached when the neurotic condition has been transformed, so that it serves in life as do other forces. But this as a general thing, comes about only through development after the treatment. Only examination of what goes on in the inner life of the patient after a considerable lapse of time subsequent to the end of the treatment, can give an insight into its importance. In order to more closely explain this point I will come back to the case.

In spite of the purely practical advantages of the manner in which the treatment of this case could be curtailed, it seems to be significant in another way, viz: in regard to the matter of the transference.

The transference of the father-complex to the personality of the doctor is a scientific fact; but I do not ascribe to this process the therapeutic value

which is generally accorded it. No case can more plainly show than can this case, what transference fundamentally means to the patient. In this particular case an illusion was brought into the patient's life which became the nucleus for compulsion-neurosis;—if circumstances are seldom so evident as in this case, I nevertheless believe that transference generally means something of a similar nature, that is to say, a confusion in the creation of the real existence. Life is composed of genuine connections, not of imago-connections. The claim is made that the transference is broken up during the course of the treatment. But is the patient not overrated on this point? If an individual, in the course of some years, has confided all his secrets to another and permitted this other to look into all his thoughts, all his feelings,—a psychological connection becomes established which neither by command nor by analysis can be broken off. Fundamentally there are only two possibilities:—either the patient must arrange a connection with the analyst similar to that which the Romanist occupies in connection with his confessor, or else the connection must suddenly be broken off, which alternative for the patient means as a rule a severe catastrophy. The first alternative is more agreeable for the patient, the second for the doctor, but both are so difficult that a third possibility seems to be necessary. Such a one arises in the way in which the connection with the doctor is reduced, and

also as much as possible, the transference upon him; no real arrangement ever takes place at all, but the doctor disappears as soon as his rôle as intermediary between the patient and reality is played out.

Against this way of making use of psychanalysis, some objections may be made. In the first place it may be asserted that this is not psychanalysis, and it is not if the word is confined within the limits used by Freud. But it must be so regarded, nevertheless, because analysis of the psychic confusion was absolutely necessary for the recovery of the patient. Without clear comprehension of the transference and regression no one would have been able to help in this case.

In the second place it may be said:—psychanalysis endeavors to give the patient power over the unconscious; the extension of consciousness never can be injurious. It must therefore be regarded as a fault of principle to confine analysis to narrow boundaries, etc.

Regarding the first point it must be maintained that psychotherapy in general tries to increase the power over life. But power over life and power over the unconscious ought not to be considered as identical. Making a patient live over again hundreds of analerotic memories from childhood does not mean necessarily the giving to him of higher power over his present life. It may mean so, if this complex has acted as an obstructive force in his life; unless

this is the case, such analysis has just the contrary effect to that after which it strives. It, in such a case, directs the attention and through this, the physical energy, to past unessentials, instead of turning the energy towards things of the future which are essential;—and by so doing the power over life is diminished.

The discussion of this subject as well as of similar objections has but slight interest. The question in hand is a practical one and everything hangs upon the answer given by the immediate practical results. Had I not obtained good results in the case I have here set forth, I should have kept to a more dogmatic way of using psychanalysis. Some further explanation of the case seems to me to be suitable for throwing light upon the question and for refuting possible objections.

I have not seen the patient since the treatment as herein described, was concluded. But a year and a half later I received a letter from which I may quote some lines;—not only because I look upon them as confirmation of the correctness of my opinion, but chiefly because they give a more intimate glimpse than any description at second hand can give, of that which took place within her mind after that time. If anyone should perhaps scoff at the somewhat fantastic style in which this letter is written, I will add that the patient belonged to a family from which sprang a great poet, and that she herself had

been brought up in an atmosphere of poetry. But if anyone draws the conclusion from this rather gushing letter, that the patient after treatment, was just as hysterical as before, I shall reply, that an analyst or physician, has nothing to do with the personality of the patient; his task only is to help the patient to come into that right connection with life in which he originally was created,—into intimate touch again with what life itself means and always must mean.

The letter was as follows:—

Saved—absolutely and forever— I send you greeting, in greatest surety and most thankful memory. There is no power which cannot be used to a higher value. In this fact is found the entire unity between me and my husband, which has struggled through to victory.

That night after taking leave of you, something happened to the child-wife, whose path crossed yours in X. For this I want to try to find an understandable expression. That which in my mind had been divided into two observers, each always making a different judgment; into two wills—separated entirely in one moment, the one from the other, and my thought took the direction which you had pointed out. On the one hand there was I, myself, alive, conscious, undivided,—on the other hand was the dead illusory part of me, the morbid excrescence, the parasite. Reality and unreality were torn apart. What an experience! What an intoxicating feeling of freedom! Was this health? Could life be so

wonderful? Do well people know what it is they have? What injustice against those who fight a double fight! Make free a bird from its cage and ask if it thanks you!

Still on the side of reality something was left which threatened me with a struggle. The power which was hidden in it must be turned into another direction. Its very roots must be forked out. Dearer than the dearest at this moment seemed to me to be the object for this struggle. To give it up was the same as to give up my own existence—or to say the least, all further unfoldment of that existence. But out of the unexplored depths a voice cried to me, with the power of the Eternal:—"Look not there! Look here! Dare to take the leap! It means more than your life." . . . The act is the growth of the decision; if he (my husband) would but give me the chance to speak! Driven by an irresistible necessity the wife seized the opportunity; she laid bare the facts, she implored forgiveness as only one does who looks death in the face. And she met with simple honesty, love of truth and respect! . . . It seemed to me finally as if all my weal and woe hung upon the first syllable he uttered. He might kill me,—anything but silence. That I could not have borne. He answered: "Forgive me;—the fault was mine." Then welled forth the stream which like a cleansing bath flowed over our souls, over our destinies, over the years gone by, over days and nights, hours, minutes, seconds . . . the stream which made everything pure, which renewed and strengthened. And which, united with the freest of bonds, thus bound us together. . . . And yet there was something, this woman would have:—to meet with some

one like herself who could rightly estimate the thing which was crystallizing in her mind; with some one who could understand that which had been discovered and appreciated by a stranger. Still remained then an expression of the desire "to be loved for her own sake alone." And was this very thing not looming in the distance,—did she not begin to be sensible of that for which she so passionately had longed? . . . Since then everything has been like a Te Deum. . . . Everything, from the smallest to the greatest, has become inestimably full of meaning. Everything, in the great whole, has found its place. With folded hands the child-wife has gone her way,—as if she were looking beyond herself—as if the reins had been taken in hand by the conscious will, while she heard a decided command:— Not there—no, *here* must you go! Greater depths must you penetrate! Self-sacrifice . . .

VII

EXTRACT FROM A CASE-HISTORY

THE following is the essential history of a case, in the treatment of which I was successful in dissolving analytically, a strongly constituted system of persecution of ten years standing, and in giving the patient, an unmarried woman of fifty-three years of age, complete comprehension of her illness. Since the end of the treatment in April, 1910, this patient has exhibited no trace of mental disease or of mental weakness. It will be my effort here not only to give a description of the patient before and after the treatment she received from me, but also and chiefly, to try to make plain how the change in her mentality came about. I shall thus endeavor to trace out the forces which had been in action during the formation of the illness and also those through which it was broken up.

The patient came to see me for the first time on December 10th, 1909. She brought with her a letter from Miss K., a woman who is famous in the so-called feminist movement. This letter the patient

asked me to read. I found that it was partly an assurance that neither the head of the firm in which the patient was employed, nor, so far as the writer knew, anyone else, had ever entertained a derogatory opinion of the patient; partly the letter was written to earnestly advise the patient to consult me for the purpose of a chance of being made free from her wrong way of thinking.

The patient at once assured me that she had not come to me to talk over what might be revolving in her mind. She said that for many years she had suffered from struma, and that because of this she was exceedingly nervous. She hoped that I might possibly be able to help her by means of hypnotic treatment. She had been told that such treatment had sometimes been successful in causing goitre to disappear. If the nervousness which was caused by this trouble could be lessened, she felt that she might perhaps be able to better resist the people who persecuted her. It had come to the point where she must get some help, for now there was no limit to the insolence of these people. The situation in which she found herself was simply unbearable.

I asked her some questions about the letter.

She told me that she had had the temerity to write to Miss K., knowing that she was a friend of the manager of the office in which she, the patient, was employed, and feeling that matters had reached a point where this manager must take some action

regarding the daily misconduct, there directed against herself. All complaints of her own had accomplished nothing. She had also formerly believed that Miss K. was herself a central point in the conspiracy against her, particularly as she was sure that Miss K. had sown many of the seeds of this conspiracy during her travels on the continent. The contents of the letter, however, had caused the patient much astonishment. Nevertheless if it were actually a fact that Miss K. knew nothing about this persecution of which she was the victim, it would not in the least alter things.

Other evidences were innumerable, pouring in upon her daily from every direction. She plainly considered it superfluous to tell me anything about this, as naturally I must already know her history and the details of that persecution to which she was subjected.

Upon my denial of all such knowledge, the patient again seemed much surprised and at first disinclined to credit me. However she permitted herself to be persuaded that I actually was in ignorance of the matter. Gradually I drew her into a conversation concerning this persecution, which I may here condense as follows:

She noticed the persecution through various kinds of signs,—as for instance, people scraping with their feet, making peculiar movements with the legs and arms, showing her pencils, scissors and similar ob-

jects for the express purpose of insulting her; but the worst thing was that people stuck out their tongues at her in a manner that was quite unmistakable. In the morning as soon as she made her appearance in the street, this thing began. So it was everywhere. She could not go into a shop where she was known. If she was obliged to make a purchase she must seek some distant shop where she could hope that she was still unrecognized. Sometimes this ruse succeeded once. But upon her second visit she always noticed that these shop-keepers too, had become involved in the conspiracy. With the conductors on the street-cars it was just as bad. After a great strike which had taken place five years before, when all the conductors who before that time had annoyed her, had been dismissed, she had hoped at first that those newly taken on, might assume no part in such misconduct. But within a few days they too began. The worst place of all was the office in which she was employed. The cashier there was a real devil; he egged on the others and was the ring-leader of the whole thing. Each time he passed the door he made a sign outside. The assurance given by Miss K. in her letter that the manager had no part in all this, was of no value at all. He also had stuck out his tongue at her; she had seen it many times. In the restaurant where she was accustomed to dine, the thing had become insupportable; as soon as she entered the place, all the people there began. Even

her nearest friend, Miss D., in whom she had long hoped to find protection, had become, some months prior to her visit to me, her open enemy. None of the other diners in the restaurant any longer gave her greeting when she entered. She had many proofs that all had gone over to the enemy. At this time she would now be going without her dinner altogether had not a niece asked her to come to her. In that house she felt herself fairly secure, although she had seen signs of the persecution in the two-year-old daughter of the house; an impudent maid had enticed the child into it. The patient lived with her mother where, fortunately, the persecutors generally left her in peace.

In order that I should not believe she was exaggerating she would tell me at once, (this was at her second visit); that her persecution had a real cause. There are so many people who at any cost, try to prevent a woman from doing as she pleases with her life. She had had an intrigue with a man. This was fully within her right and she did not in the least regret it. She had wanted to live like a real woman and she had done so. But such a thing people could not endure. This was the foundation of the entire history; she had been forced out of society; she might as well say that she had been condemned to death. Her persecutors constantly brought her punishment to bear upon her. She asked me if I were acquainted with the history of Miss X. This poor

girl's persecutors had succeeded in getting out of her doctor the secret that she was pregnant; when knowledge of this betrayal came to the girl, she had committed suicide.* The patient believed that it was the intention of her persecutors also to drive her to suicide. She believed that they would sooner or later succeed. Using all her strength she felt herself now powerless to resist. During these ten years the conspiracy had become more and more extensive. She knew very well one of its most active centers. This was The Woman's League Society. She assured me that it was a fact that this society was a veritable inquisition. It was situated close to the school-house and was an agency for shop-people, hospital employees, etc. It had influence everywhere and so was able to lead the persecution against her in all directions. The members of the League spied with a diligence hardly credible. Thus, as soon as she visited a new shop, the employees received orders to insult her.— Formerly for many years she had been a teacher. She had been offered a position as principal in one of the largest of the schools for girls. The schools also belonged to the worst class of her persecutors. She knew exactly which scoundrels were organizing the persecution there. She also had been a journalist, and she assured me that beyond doubt, the persecution from which she suffered had at first been spread through the press. Everybody

* This history I know to be true.

knew her there. Of especially great importance had been a caricature of her which had appeared in the Christmas number of "Puck," 1899, and an article in "Hvad Nytt" in February, 1900, wherein she had been sharply attacked. At that time she had been unable to open a newspaper without discovering attacks and insinuations against herself which of course everybody understood. This still was a common occurrence. A conference at the Journalist's Club at which her case had been discussed had had great effect. From an anonymous letter in which she had been accused of the most atrocious things, she had seen quite clearly that she had been condemned. The letter she had immediately burned, hoping thus to forget it; but she had not succeeded. There had been times when the persecution had been less intense. But these times had been when her enemies were gathering new strength, so that afterwards it had become more bitter than ever. In the year 1903 there had seemed to begin a change for the better, but since 1906 the conspiracy had spread wider and wider. Particularly had it grown worse since an operation she had been obliged to undergo in June, 1908.

I asked the patient if she ever had been able to assure herself that other people noticed the signs of which she spoke.

She replied that the signs all belonged to a sign-language which is wide-spread. Her family had

made attempts to persuade her that the whole thing was imagination. But the proof she had for her knowledge was so overwhelming that she could not for one moment doubt the reality of it. Once she had requested her niece to follow her to the post-office and to carefully watch the post-mistress so that she might be convinced for herself. The woman had stuck her tongue out at her from ear to ear! Afterwards the niece had said that she had not observed this, but that could not possibly be true.

I asked the patient if in her earlier life she had been subjected to such persecution.

She answered no,—not at all. She always had been upon most friendly terms with her fellow-men.

Upon further questioning concerning the beginning of her trouble, she told me she had noticed as far back as the spring of the year 1899, that she was looked at in a peculiar way; sometimes also people had offered her insults. The signs she had first begun to notice some months later in X-Burg, whither she had followed the man with whom she had been in love. She had returned home hoping these signs were unknown there; but she very soon discovered that her hope had been in vain. In the month of February, 1900, these signs had broken upon her so from all sides that she could not at all protect herself. . . . Some years prior to this time she had passed through an experience which had destroyed her courage, and at the time mentioned she was

still suffering from this experience. But her general mental condition had not been one of depression. Formerly she had been of a very cheerful disposition nor had she been unusually vacillating in temperament.

Regarding heredity, the patient had much to relate, whereof I shall note only the most significant points. Her father had been the result of a passing intrigue with a farm-girl. He was a clever and talented, but very peculiar man. He had given up an excellent business as a watch-maker, in order to start several newspapers, of which at least one became of importance. Always he had innumerable schemes in his head, of which very few amounted to anything. He had, for example, erected a "hygienic bakery" and for several years he had worked at a plan for a carriage which was to run on rails automatically laid out for itself; he had taken out innumerable patents on different inventions. Most of them were quite impossible. For instance he had devised an apparatus for refreshing soldiers during the march. This apparatus consisted of a rubber bulb fitted between the foot and the sole of the shoe, to which was attached a tube, which ran up to the top of the head; from this tube, at every step, a current of air was blown into the face of the wearer. His latest patent had been a device for drawing the blankets up over the head at night. He was a man who quarreled with everybody and who was almost always

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involved in processes of law. He now was somewhat more careful about such matters, as once he had come very near to committing perjury. All the half-sisters and brothers of this man were most peculiar. One of the brothers, while very intelligent, was hostile to other people, adventurous, a pathological liar and often mixed up in quarrels. Another, who is still alive, is a notorious litigant. A sister who became famous as a writer, had been unable as a child to separate reality from fantasy; she used to come home and relate things about herself which she had made up, but in which she entirely believed. Still another had suffered from an inability to resist going round and round in street-cars; finally she had thrown herself from a train and been killed. Another had been quite insane and had died in an asylum. On the mother's side there had been nothing abnormal. The mother was still living and at eighty years of age was in the best of physical and mental health.

Of the twelve brothers and sisters of the patient, five had died young. All those living were more or less nervous. One brother had for years suffered from aphony; he also imagined that he was persecuted. One sister had phobia for different things. Two other sisters had undergone deep changes in their personalities. One, in her youth, had been of a cold, careless nature, but had married happily and now apparently, was a saint, who already existed

in the other world. She was a theosophist, vegetarian, etc. Among the children of the relatives also nervous diseases and peculiarities were common. One youthful neurasthenic was determined to kill his mother because she had brought children into the world, although she knew that she belonged to a most degenerate family. Law-suits had been without number between the different members of the family.

. . . The thing most noticeable at first about the patient was a restless, strained expression; this dominated her behavior, her features and especially her eyes. Her intellectual capacity was excellent. In speaking, thoughts came in strong logical order. Undoubtedly she was a very talented woman and her ideas regarding things having no connection with her insane imagery, were excellent. As to the question of megalomania it was noticeable that both as teacher and as journalist, she had been very highly appreciated; but her feeling for herself had exceeded natural limits.

* * *

In the original description of this case * I have explained my opinion, that it must be regarded as a

* "Zur Radikalbehandlung der Chronischen Paranoia," Bjerre. Sonderabdruck aus dem Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische und Psychopathologische Forschungen, 111 Band, 2. Hälfte.

case of true paranoia; but here I shall confine myself to a curtailed description of the treatment.

This treatment began with the first visit of the patient to my office. The formation of a rapport between doctor and patient is perhaps, the most difficult thing to achieve, in a case wherein the patient feels hatred towards the whole world and sees in every human being a new enemy. That from the very start, this patient felt herself calm in my consulting-room and was able to speak easily to me, is a fact. The reason for this, I am unable with certainty, to explain. The letter of recommendation from Miss K. possibly had had some suggestive influence. But I believe that the effort I made to put myself as fully as possible, in her place, was the most important factor. I did not allow myself to show the slightest doubt as to the reality of the persecution of which she felt herself the victim, but spoke with her about these things as about any other facts. I so completely was able to play this part that she felt that at last she had found someone who understood her situation and did not approach her with the usual weakminded objections. I thus gained a peculiar position, which showed itself partly in the fact that she really listened to what I had to say, partly in the fact that I was not added to the flock of her pursuers. It is true that she explained to me how on one of her first visits she also had noticed in me signs of persecution and how she had come

very near considering me too in the light of an enemy; but fortunately I had succeeded in nipping this suspicion in the bud and in persuading her that she had nothing to fear from me. Nevertheless I had been by no means sure that she would return to me again, after that time. The fact of her doing so was probably due to no other reason than that it amused her to talk with me. At first it gave her a sense of freedom to find herself understood; then gradually I drew her into general conversation. I showed a lively interest in her family history, in her childhood, etc. Imperceptibly I began to interpret what she told me, in words in which she suspected no intention. That everything I said to her however, was suggested after a certain plan, is self-evident. After a little I began to make some explanations in which she was greatly interested. As she told me facts concerning her parents, I referred to the question of heredity, explaining how a child may be born with some defect, which can have a deep influence upon its after life without its being conscious of it. I gave her examples of this which stimulated her after-thoughts. We spoke much about her childhood. During that time the patient had resided in a small provincial town. Her recollections of this home were pleasant, but only because of her mother, who made everything about her home-like and happy. At that time the position of the father in the family was that of a stranger. Against

his schemes the patient had been just as much opposed as were all the other members of the family. "We acquired," she said, "a habit of looking upon him as a wrong-doer who needlessly interfered with the business and, with his unfortunate ideas, destroyed our financial status." And yet the patient had entertained a certain admiration for her father's cleverness, imagination and energy. She admitted to me that in many ways she was like him—particularly in her love of change. He also had awakened her literary interest. For her mother the patient had always had the warmest attachment. . . . I told her some of the remarkable facts concerning the unconscious influence of parents upon their children and how such influence may often be much stronger than anyone suspects; how a child may imitate the traits, or even almost the whole destiny of a parent, without in the least understanding it; how for instance such a tendency as quarrelsomeness may, little by little, find its way into the child's mind and constantly acquire a stronger hold there.

Among the first impulses of her life the patient recollected a very lively fancy. In her play she lived so thoroughly in fictitious places and situations, that it was often difficult for her to return to connection with the real. One thing she used to imagine was that pins were horse-men and that the pin-cushion was a forest through which they galloped in the night. When she had grown older she had lived in

day-dreams. Then she had been the princess in the sleeping castle, waiting for the prince to come who should awaken her with a kiss;—always he came from some unknown, distant land and had taken her with him far from the things of every-day life.— Such tales gave me the opportunity to speak with her about imagination and reality and about the urgent need of keeping sharply defined the subjective and objective worlds. She admitted that, like her aunt, she had had difficulty in doing this; but she insisted that this had played no part in her life.

Relations between herself and her brothers and sisters had been very pleasant. Especially had the patient been devoted to one sister, two years her senior. In this sister's companionship she had found the protection she had so needed in her younger days. At that time she had been very bashful and uncertain of herself. In company she had been wont to hide herself behind this sister and let her do the talking for both; she had nicknamed this sister her "trumpet." Both had early made up their minds never to marry; they would instead "marry each other." At the time when they came to S—— to live, the patient having been then thirteen years of age,— they had hunted out a house in which they were agreed upon the intention to live as "old maids." Young men afterwards frequented the house in an entirely unaffected way; flirtations came about but were soon forgotten.

When the patient was eighteen the great experience of her life came. Soon before this she had, in co-operation with her sister begun to make up little "newspapers" which were circulated among their immediate circle of friends and acquaintances. This of course had been done anonymously, and they had had much amusement out of it. As a joke they finally had inserted a marriage notice in a public newspaper. One of the replies to this had been the beginning of a correspondence which had lasted without interruption for twenty years, during all of which time the patient had never personally encountered her correspondent, although he lived in the same city. Her connection with this unknown had been a source of great happiness to her. She had anticipated his letters with all the eagerness and delight incident to love. Not only had she been attached to his man with her whole soul; he also had been connected in some peculiar manner with her erotic life. With him she had felt that she would be able to marry; to him she could give herself. He was the fairy prince of whom she had always dreamed. During her twenties, she had made the acquaintance of another man with whom she felt herself in sympathy and who loved her. She also had had a feeling of love for him, but after seven years of doubt and inner strife, she had broken with him. Evidently she had felt that she never could quite free herself from the writer of the letters

with whom she was forever connected by a kind of mystic bond. The patient was unable, even at the time I saw her, to speak of this correspondence without tears coming into her eyes and she insisted that in spite of everything, it had been the thing of greatest import in her whole life. The destruction of this connection had been her most painful experience. It had occupied some years and many things had played a part in it. But one only had been decisive. When at last in her thirty-eighth year she had met the man personally at a party, she at once understood that she had completely deceived herself. The ideal she had so long believed to have had existence behind the letters, was not there at all. Instead she saw an entirely common-place man, who at the same time was in the midst of a liaison with her own youngest sister. This had been too hard a blow for her. She wished never to see him again. Then she had begun to hate him and to grow bitter against the whole world.

I dwelt long upon this very significant part of her life. I showed her how deeply this unusual experience had buried itself in her nature and suggested to her that this might produce morbid displacement between fantasy and reality. This she could take no credence in; with the exception of the goitre, she assured me that she always had been in excellent health.

Her external life, during all these years she had

filled in the following manner:— After the termination of her schooling she had assisted her father for some years in the editing of his papers. At the age of twenty-three she had gone for a period of three years, to a seminary, after which she worked for thirteen years as a teacher—sometimes in private families, sometimes in the higher schools for girls. She had suffered much from the constraint of the seminary, nor was the work of a teacher suited to her temperament. Nevertheless, as I have said before she had everywhere been liked. A position which had been offered to her as principal of a school she had refused, because she had been unable to resign herself to remaining always a teacher.

After she had freed herself from the writer of the letters, she had felt herself sufficiently strong to take a decisive step. She had given up forever her position as a teacher and taken a place on the staff of a weekly paper. Here she had worked for two years and during that time had acquired a position of importance. Without any definite reason she had resigned this also in October, 1898; she had not wished to feel bound down to anything. Until the following April, she then had had occasional work on different newspapers, in insurance offices, etc. During all these years she had come into closer touch with many people; partly her friends were families of high social position whose children she had taught, partly they were in the circle of teach-

ers, but chiefly were they colleagues of the press. For the purpose of study she had visited Germany, England and France. Everywhere she had made acquaintances without difficulty. She had a lively interest in many subjects,—history, politics, literature, etc. More than all had she become interested in the so-called feminist movement and at every opportunity she had defended the rights of women.

I pointed out to her the importance of the fact that during all this period of her richest development, she had been connected with a kind of work which really had been unsuited to her. Her dissatisfaction during all this period probably had its strongest root in her sexual restraint. Had she been able to concentrate her forces upon some work which would have been in accord with her desires and her talent, this dissatisfaction to a certain degree would have been effaced. And what would have been even more important, she would have lived her life in closer connection with the external world. For some sort of activity, which at the same time makes an individual free and of use to others, is, next to the sexual-life, the strongest bridge between individual existence and the world. As far as the sexual-life went she had already been driven from reality to fantasy and afterwards the same thing had occurred where social activity was concerned. If the daily work does not satisfy, everyone is apt to fill that life with day-dreams. The lack of ability in the

patient, which had really existed from the beginning, to apprehend objectively, had become in the course of years, still more effaced. Her childish habit of living in a world of dreams, she plainly had never become free from.— She was unable to deny that all this was true, but that it could have any deeper significance she could not at all believe.

In the winter of 1898-1899 she had begun the liaison with Mr. C. who had come to town for business reasons. She had been obliged to visit him at his hotel, in order to execute a business commission. As early as her second visit he had made advances to her which she had not resisted;—not at all because she felt any love for the man—that she had not imagined for a moment. But she wanted to really live the real life of a woman and she had so made use of the opportunity which here came in her way. In the place of that happiness which she had lost, she would at least enjoy experience and knowledge. This was her right and she had never regretted having taken it. In April, 1899, she had followed Mr. C. to X-Burg, a town on the continent, for the avowed purpose of taking a position in his office. There she had remained until November when the liaison came to an end and she had returned home. In her home town she had already remarked that people spied upon her. Once when she was about to leave a hotel she had noticed that a waiter made a grimace. He had without doubt, been

listening at the door and from this beginning her persecution had spread among the waiters—one of its worst breeding-places.

When I now began more closely to question her concerning these first signs of the persecution, one thing which I had already noticed in my former talks with the patient, became more clear to me: she tried always to keep away from the treatment of details; as a rule she was unable to look at one thing by itself and to keep that one thing fixed in her thought, until we had thoroughly done with it. When she arrived at a certain point in her narrative, the threads of thought became tangled and the whole thing was wiped out. I tried to prevent this and many times called her attention to the fact by saying, "No, don't tell me anything more. Let us keep to this until we are ready to go on!" This irritated her very much and that I had come upon a weak spot here was plainly evident; she was many times angry, but I did not give in. Finally she said, "I cannot think with exactness; I have never really thought with my intellect, only with my feelings. If we are going to get any farther, you must let me think in my own way."

I explained to her the absolute necessity of using the intellect for the purpose of thinking. I told her that if she had never been able to do this, it was high time for her to try; and I added a long lecture on thinking with the feelings, so that her ideas

upon the subject might be made clear. I described to her how the mind must impair in case one never makes an effort to cleanse the thoughts of temporary moods and sensations, and the dangers connected with such a course. Finally she permitted me to linger long enough on every detail until I was thoroughly convinced that the thing was fully worked out in her mind. In short, I had to teach her how to think. It was a tiresome piece of re-education, from which she many times would have liked to run away. When we went on with her narrative I compelled her to re-live every experience—not as she herself recalled it, but as she would have lived through it if at the time, she had been able to see clearly and distinctly.

In regard to the first time she had noticed the signs of persecution, she now told me the following:— She had had to attend a horse-race in X-Burg in order to report it for her paper. On the reporters' stand, she had been spoken to by an elegantly dressed woman who happened to sit next her. She presently noticed that this woman was the object of peculiar attention from the men. She observed how one man after the other made strange signs to her, especially with the tongue. At first she had been at a loss to understand it, but it presently became clear to her that these signs must have a hidden sexual meaning. She had moved away from the woman without learning her name, and she did

not meet her again.— During the next few days she noticed with horror that people in the streets began to make similar signs to herself.

In the course of this talk I gave her, with great caution, an explanation somewhat as follows: "Naturally these events may have taken place exactly as you believe. That I will not at all deny. But it seems also possible to me that you have been the victim of a very curious mistake. Something similar to such a mistake we occasionally experience in a lesser degree but, as a rule, it does not attract our attention. Life is very full of illusions and many people remain forever entangled in their mistakes. When the experiences of today superimpose upon those of yesterday, we sometimes lose our conscious view, and with it, control over our own lives,—we became, that is to say, play-things of unconscious motives. The more experiences accumulate, the more overwhelming they are, just so much the more difficult it is to connect them at once with the "I." Take for instance, a case like this: you may have suffered some great loss. You travel in order to forget —that is, you try to bury your trouble under a mass of new experiences. You become carried away by these—you forget yourself. Presently this new stock of experiences melts in with the old. Even more clearly still can you see this, if you meet with someone who makes a deep impression upon you. What one of us has not in youth, been so influenced

by some great personality that he has lost his own "I" in this other—seeing with the other's eyes, writing with the other's pen? It may be years before the "I" assimilates the accumulated material—if it ever succeeds in so doing. Here is a way open for trouble, for stunting development, and these things are very common occurrences in a lesser degree. How many people, for instance, escape traits of alien personalities, which remain forever to steer life into wrong directions, without their being conscious of such a thing? How many people have in their inmost thoughts, identified themselves with Hamlet and because of that have been restrained in every act of life? In the healthy person there are psychic tendencies to assure against such misfortunes; such a one examines the inner life and discovers wherein lies the wrong. But in order to accomplish that, one must have a clear vision and be able to think with keenness. So if, as you have done, one has thought only with the feelings and has worked no clear way out through the mass of befogging experiences, he becomes fertile soil for the seed of all kinds of mistakes. And such dangers are, like all other dangers, so much the greater, the less one is prepared to cope with them. The worst kinds of troubles arise simply because a stock of experiences creep into the consciousness without being noticed. If anyone has exerted a strong influence upon you, without your having remarked this influence, then,

not only the thoughts of this person, but also his personality and even more, his destiny, can be so mixed in the depths of the unconscious mind with your own "I" that you cannot separate one thread from another. Unconsciously you identify yourself with that other. In such a way, for instance, one often assumes the pains of another.— In order to fully understand this it is necessary to take one very important fact concerning the unconscious mind into consideration. The unconscious mind is not so centralized as is the conscious; in it the conglomeration of earlier experiences are not bound together into one "I." Under peculiar circumstances such a conglomeration, which is called a complex, may attain a certain independence, may grow and acquire an insidious influence upon the conscious "I." Just as under normal circumstances, this "I" takes sustenance from the external world and assimilates everything that agrees with it, so an unconscious complex can attract to itself everything that is in accord with it, without our noticing it in the least degree. So we may come under the power of the unconscious mind."

I was successful in making these ideas clear to the patient only after long explanation and by means of many examples taken from everyday life, as well as from pathological psychology. She was greatly interested in all this; but that it should have any special application to herself she could not at all be-

lieve. But by the suggestion of these facts, lines of thought were drawn through her mind, along which her further thought could work out to a deeper comprehension of the pathological processes in her life.

I continued my conversation with her as follows:

"You will now perhaps better be able to understand your peculiar experience in X-Burg. You had lived there for some months in a liaison which dominated your whole thought. In this liaison you had endeavored to find a substitute for the happiness which you had lost, and by means of it you desired above all to demonstrate for yourself the right of a woman to live her sexual-life. But this intrigue of yours had to be kept secret; had it become known it would have ruined you forever. You were unable at the time to deny to yourself that you were in a state of anxiety. (The patient had admitted to me that she had fear concerning the result of her manner of life); you had surely pictured to yourself what the consequences might be. Above all you feared that this intrigue might further degrade you; that sexuality once brought into action might drive you farther and farther. Your demonstration of the rights of women told you that you were within your full legitimate field;—but the woman in you also told you that you were running into grave danger. In the conscious mind there arises in every such case, a complex, which strikes a strong note of fear and

anxious watching. In this state of mind you were, when you came across that unknown woman on the reporters' stand. From her dress and general appearance you unconsciously concluded that there might reasonably be some doubt as to her respectability. Your conscious personality was not attracted toward her; intentionally you failed to seek her acquaintance. 'By accident' you got a seat beside her on the stand. But that is as much as to say that the complex in your mind felt itself attracted toward her; such accidents do not exist. The complex suggested to you, like Mephistopheles: —'such another you too will become;—seek the company in which you belong!' As a flirt, this woman must attract peculiar notice; that you unconsciously concluded, and upon this point you strongly concentrated your attention. You perceived at once that you were right. Perhaps it was so in reality. But if it had not been it would have seemed so to you. We always see what we wish to see. But even more do we see everything which a complex forces upon our attention; hallucinations easily arise in this manner. Possibly some one, or even many, had laughed at this woman, in such a way that the tongue could be seen. No matter how it came to pass you have observed peculiar movements of the tongue and this has made a deep impression upon you. To sum up:—an unconscious complex unnoticed by you, drew this woman into your mind and associated her

so strongly with itself, that unconsciously you identified yourself with her. In the days that followed this identification tried to weave itself into your own personality. The consequence was that you no longer saw with your own eyes, but with hers; and so people in the streets made the same movements with the tongue to you that they had made to her."

The patient received this explanation with a contemptuous smile. She meant by this to intimate that very possibly something of this sort might take place, but that she, herself, never could have made such a mistake; she could believe the evidence of her own eyes, etc., etc. I made no attempt to convince her; on the contrary I assured her that it was very probable that she was right; that I did not at all say that things must be as I had suggested, but that it was a possibility with which one must reckon. In order to make full investigation of anything, all possibilities must be put to proof,—not merely the ones most probable.

I took up the matter of the tongue and questioned her as to any unpleasant experiences in which that member had played a part in her life. She recalled among other things, that once in the street, she had met a man who suddenly had become mad and who screamed and stuck his tongue out of a horrible looking mouth. This picture had burned itself with painful clearness into her memory.

I explained how such an emotional picture always

with great ease becomes reconstructed and how it has a tendency to associate everything with itself which is in any way similar to it. "Probably," I went on, "you never would have noticed these slight movements of the tongue if in your mind there had not already existed an over-determined picture of an outstretched tongue." But this also was too much for her to believe.

I now talked with her about the unintentional symptom acts common to everyday life. How people continually make little unconscious movements, which are not especially noticed by others. To these belong the habit of moistening the lips with the tongue. This phenomenon is like the blind spot on the retina:—it remains unnoticed unless attention is directly called to it. By means of an over-determined picture of an out-stretched tongue, I explained to the patient that her attention had been too strongly attracted to every small movement of the tongue—attracted to the very smallest, with the same surety that a piece of iron is attracted to a magnet; and that whereas she had thought the phenomenon an objective one, it was in reality subjective.— She laughed heartily at an idea so absurd.

Continuing, I explained to her how naturally one accompanies a forceful thought with some gesture. If one thinks intensely about the tongue it is hard to keep it entirely still. To this is added another fact; all such movements are very contagious. If,

for instance, anyone in a company, begins to yawn, soon one after the other does the same thing. The connection thus might be formulated as follows:—because she—the patient, had fixed her attention on the outstretched tongue, she had herself stretched out her own tongue unusually often. And this she had done just at those times when she feared that someone else might do it. The movements of her own tongue thus had been contagious to others. So that which she had observed, had, in reality, come from herself.

The patient looked upon this idea as inexpressibly funny. She would not even believe that I meant it in earnest. Every effort I made to analyse the complication from this side, met with insurmountable resistance. The gestures she had seen, were, and would remain, signs of a sexual persecution,—for this her proof was abundant and unequivocal. She had even read in many books by modern writers, that such signs are known generally, and therefore the whole thing became still more clear. S., for example, tells of a man who made signs like these to a woman, as he drank her health at dinner. Unfortunately such things have a foundation in fact, and could not be explained away. The other gestures were equally proofs in themselves.

I will here let the patient go on with her own story:

When she had left X-Burg she had hoped that

her love-affair was known only in that town and that she would not be exposed to further persecution in other places. But she had quickly discovered that the sign-language was also known in her native land and was there to be used against her. She soon learned that her love-affair was a matter of common gossip at home, as well. This was made manifest to her in many ways. Wherever she went, people talked about her and if she turned her back, they laughed. An article which she had written for one of the weekly papers was not accepted,—a thing which never before had happened. In the editorial rooms she was strangely treated,—the editor even had left the room when she entered it. Former acquaintances showed her the cold shoulder, sometimes not even greeting her in the street. It had been all the harder to bear when she had discovered that she could not trust even her oldest friends. In the beginning she had conjectured that the rumor concerning her had been privately spread about. She had recommended as her successor in the office at X-Burg, a country-woman of her own and she believed that this woman had also since been seduced and that she had then tried in this manner to avenge herself for having been sent to the place.

At last had come a fatal day in February, 1910, when she finally understood clearly that all she had hitherto observed had been merely the harbinger of a general persecution. As she already had related,

the thing had rushed in upon her from all sides. Everywhere she went she saw the signs and everywhere people talked about her and avoided her. She was positive that her persecutors had made use of public agencies. Her love-affair had become known to the whole town and she had been utterly condemned by society, utterly ostracised. It was her fate to be hunted to death. All because she had done something which it was her perfect right to do. She had then made up her mind to turn against everybody and to shut herself up within herself. So the thing had gone on from year to year until at last she and her mother had come to live entirely alone. Meanwhile the conspiracy against her had spread all over Europe; she even had certain proof that in America also, centers of this persecution existed. She complained bitterly that society should so treat an innocent woman.

* * *

I now broke the ground for exact examination and test of every single proof of the persecution. I asked her to describe in detail every occurrence as completely as she was able to recall it. I began with the public proofs and then went on to those of a more private nature. As it would be superfluous to explain all this material, I shall give only a few examples.

To begin with she had told me that a caricature in the Christmas number of "Puck" (1899) and an article in "Hvad Nytt" in February, 1900, had been of great significance in her case.

I telephoned to the office of "Puck" to get a copy of the number in question. I found that this periodical had not yet come into existence in the year 1899. I tried vainly to find the caricature elsewhere. I then told the patient of my failure and begged her to help me without fear, in my search. She succeeded in finding it in another humorous paper published in 1902; but she now made the discovery that the text had been aimed at another journalist instead of at herself. She also found the article in "Hvad Nytt" for me. It had to do with a lecture on the subject of morality and contained no personal insinuations of any kind whatsoever. The patient was compelled to admit that she had made here two indubitable mistakes in memory. She was surprised, but otherwise it made no impression upon her. The fact of the persecution remained absolutely unchanged. It had simply come about through other means than those she had credited. Perhaps it was the outcome of the February meeting of the Society of Journalists, where her case had been discussed, or possibly exclusively through articles in the newspapers, to which at the time, she had attached little importance.

As an instance of the persecution emanating from

her own friends (as she saw matters) I relate the following:

A family, all the members of which had been her friends, who lived in a provincial city, came to town and stopped at a hotel there. When she called upon them she had been received with customary hospitality. There had been the usual little pleasantries and the best of good feeling between them. Suddenly a waiter had appeared and summoned the husband out of the room. When, after some time, he returned, he had appeared quite changed. He had been cold and disagreeable and had so influenced the wife and daughter, by means of secret signs, that they also had altered their attitude toward her. The conversation had languished and she had felt constrained to take her leave. So her association with this family had come to an end. When they had come to town again later on, she had not even been informed of the fact. In her opinion the waiter had called the husband out of the room to inform him about herself. Waiters, as I have before pointed out, were always, in the mind of the patient, centers from which information concerning her spread.

As an explanation of this incident, I suggested to her, the following:—the husband, no doubt, had been called to the telephone by the waiter—a thing which occurs at least once every fifteen minutes to most business or professional people. Or possibly some-

one was looking for him personally. Just like everything else, this occurrence had at once awakened her distrust. A suspicion something like this had then taken possession of her: "Now someone is going to tell him about me and our friendly intercourse will end." Her attention had concentrated itself upon this thought, her distrust had been ready to grasp any detail and, by misconstruing it, to find in it a proof.— When the husband returned his thoughts had been busy with some news he had received. The wife and daughter had noticed this and had been curious to hear what was the matter. Perhaps even, they had been expecting news of importance. The members of the family might well have grown silent because of other reasons than the ones she had imputed to them. But because of this silence she had assumed absolute evidence of the fact that these people too had joined her persecutors. And she had herself, acted accordingly. She had grown bitter and repellant, she had taken her leave in a cold, offended manner, in fact she had made it plain that she wished to have no more to do with them. The family could scarcely do anything but acquiesce and be silent about the whole matter.— These and similar explanations the patient refused to accept, because, in her own mind, she knew better. It was impossible that she could be so mistaken, etc.

However I went on quietly and without interrup-

tion. The conditions she had observed in her office, I insisted upon with particular care.

She had told me that the cashier there was a woman-hater; he wanted to throw all women out of the office. Mrs. L., who died of tuberculosis in 1909 had really been driven to her death, she asserted, by this man. The patient had already assured me that she was not the only one convinced of this fact. The man hated her too. After the death of Mrs. L. things had become even worse than before. After finishing Mrs. L. his hatred had settled upon herself. Every time he passed her door he scraped with his feet.— I explained to her how many disputes naturally arise through the daily friction brought about where many people work in the same building. It might have been that the cashier was a rival of Mrs. L. for the good-will of the manager. But I doubted if this could have had connection with her illness. "Even admitting that Mrs. L. was exposed to such persecution," I said to the patient, "it would not necessarily follow that after her death, the cashier should have begun to persecute you. You may have been deceived in that idea. You recall how we have spoken of your inclination to put yourself in the place of someone else —quite unconsciously, it is true—and you recall that I explained also how one person may for instance, feel the pains of another. I have at this time under treatment, an old man, who will serve as a good

example of this very fact. He suffers from pain in the stomach and vomiting; these are in reality the symptoms of the illness of his dead wife, who had cancer of the stomach. Did you not after Mrs. L.'s death take upon yourself the persecution which in her case may have been a fact?"

After this manner the treatment went on. I saw the patient every other day until the middle of February, (with an interruption of two weeks after Christmas), or for a period of about seven weeks. The result seemed then to be null. Many of the new experiences and points of view I gave her had, it is true, awakened her astonishment and had momentarily shaken her position; but at each subsequent interview these successes had been overthrown by her own system and she could then explain everything in her own way. No change for the better had come about in her intercourse with those with whom she daily had to do,—rather if anything, the contrary. On New Year's Day she had asked for a private interview with her manager, having determined to tell him in detail all about the persecution and of her desire that the punishment of the cashier and others might be enforced. The patient's niece, whom I have before had occasion to mention, succeeding in preventing this catastrophe. Otherwise the patient would have lost her position and, as she was without means, this must have resulted in her being sent to an institution.

Nevertheless I believe that in the depths of her unconscious mind, a change had already begun. Her appearance no longer was so tense and strained; her voice no longer had the tone of absolute certainty when she spoke of the persecution and her laughter had lost some of its superciliousness. I felt that there was a possibility that doubt, suggested to her in a hundred different ways, had taken root and was quietly growing. Her heart no longer was in what she said.— I resolved to venture upon a decisive step. I boldly told her that I myself had begun to doubt that she ever really had been exposed to persecution. Many situations seemed so peculiar to me, that this doubt had begun to worry me. I wanted to see clearly into the matter. I therefore asked her permission to put myself in communication with some one who must be cognizant of the persecution if such a state of things really existed. I proposed a colleague whom I had known for many years and who was the friend as well as the physician, in her own family. She had mentioned him to me several times, imputing to him a certain part in the spreading of her troubles. She now made no objection to my proposition.

It is unnecessary to add that this step would have been useless, unless the suggestibility of the patient had grown enormously during the course of her treatment. Undertaken prematurely the result of such a step, like so many of a similar nature

before, would have been entirely negative. Now however, the soil was so well prepared that it seemed possible to me that such a suggestion might overcome the strongest resistance. In view of this coming examination I increased the tension of the patient's mind regarding it, by putting it off from day to day. Then I consulted with my colleague alone; he knew that the patient suffered from paranoia and he was able to provide me with some interesting details regarding her earlier life.

On the 28th of February I told the patient that my colleague had heard not the slightest thing either of her love-affair or of the persecution and that he was absolutely convinced that no one ever had either thought or spoken evil about her. It took me quite half an hour to impress this fact upon her. She was so amazed that she could hardly speak. When she left me it was quite clear that my statement had produced an effect; and at our next conversation I found that this effect had been greater than I had dared to hope. The struggle between the complexes and the suggestions no longer appeared to be beyond our range of vision. Doubt concerning the system of persecution was plainly coming to the surface. This ignorance of such an old friend of the family was the first shock toward emancipation. All that which during the course of the treatment had been sown with such precaution and had since been germinating in the depths of her

unconscious mind, now began to stretch up toward the light, while the ground beneath "the system" began to shake. Nevertheless the patient by no means abandoned her point of view at once and with no further effort to sustain it. She came back with the old objections. Still I had won ground and because of her uncertainty I ventured upon more energetic suggestions. I said no longer, "This or that *may* have been so;" I asserted: "This or that came about in this way. Without the shadow of a doubt you were entirely mistaken."— I went over all the motives which had been discussed before and showed her with compelling logic, that my interpretation was the only one possible. I now gave her little opportunity to speak, but went on uninterruptedly with my new arguments. Instead of contemptuous laughter, she listened to me amazed. She began to get some inkling of the possibility of deliverance, yet she dared not believe in it. But with every subsequent talk with me this hope grew and I assured her that she was about to experience a complete inner enlightenment. If however she must still wait a little for this she must not become impatient.

"You must take into consideration what an unprecedented development all this implies," I said to her. "How long it took people to understand that the earth revolves around the sun instead of the other way about! In your case there is in question a still deeper re-valuation of ideas. The persecution

grew into an external fact for you. Now you will come to see that it had its roots in your own mind. It has been exclusively an inner fact. It has come into existence because of morbid displacement in your unconscious mind."

During this part of the treatment, the inner change in the patient became more and more evident and what was more, there came about with it a change in her attitude toward the external world. The powerful inner tension gave way and the symptoms grew less pronounced.

She told me that she still saw the signs, but that they seemed more remote and that they did not oppress her as they formerly had done,—that she had begun to bother herself no longer about them. She was now able with no great uneasiness to visit shops, even the same shops wherein she had been formerly so tormented. At the office too things were going better. She had found flowers on her desk on her birthday. They had been placed there by the daughter of Mrs. L., a woman whom she always had feared as a secret enemy. I made her see how formerly she would have been certain to have seen signs of the persecution in these very flowers.— Even the cashier evidently had grown more courteous. At my special request she called upon some former acquaintances and was astonished to find among them no ill will against herself. At every point I made clear to her

of course, the connection between these apparent outer changes and her own actual inner change.

On the 11th of March came the most decisive step in the whole treatment.

She began immediately upon her visit to my office, to relate to me how during the past few days, two recollections had taken hold of her, although she did not know why they had come. For years she had not even given a thought to the occurrences in question, and now with no apparent reason, they stood pre-eminent,—fully clear before her conscious mind.

When she was 17 years of age she had had a friend a few years her senior. This friend was much in love at the time, but her father had opposed her marriage with the man. It had been reported to my patient that this friend had moved to a provincial city; after some time, however, she received a letter telling her that her friend was still living in town,—secretly, in one of the suburbs—and was awaiting the birth of a child. After this event had taken place, she went one evening to see her friend, in company with her own sister. This also had been done secretly. While there she had met the young father and had been quite enchanted by the blissful atmosphere which filled the house. The whole circumstance had made a deep impression upon her and had excited her lively imagination.

As she spoke to me about this matter I was impressed with the idea that all her girlish dreams had once more come to life. At the same time she laid so much stress upon her indignation over the lies and deceptions with which these people had been obliged to surround themselves in order to escape persecution from their neighbors, that I was forced to the conclusion that the social side of this story had been at the time, of main interest to her.

The second recollection was of something which had entered still deeper into her life.

Among the girls with whom she had been confirmed there had been one who was her especially intimate friend. This girl, later on, had moved away from town and correspondence between the two had gradually come to an end, so that at last my patient very seldom had news of her. In the year 1899 the patient heard accidentally that this friend was ill, but she had thought nothing further about the matter. Some months later still, when the patient was living in a boarding-house in England, she had read in a newspaper that this friend had been arrested on charge of infanticide; the body of the dead child had been found hidden in a doll's house. The patient had a strong feeling that her friend was innocent and was highly indignant at such infamy. The newspapers made a great sensation out of the story and her friend's name was mercilessly dragged through the press. The case was talked about everywhere.

An autopsy, however, was made upon the child and it was thus proved, without the shadow of a doubt, that it had been born dead. The whole scandal had been the work of an official,—a man who was an enemy of the family. But because of the scorn and persecution to which she had been subjected the poor woman was completely broken. She would no longer remain in her native land, but went to hide herself somewhere in America. There she had encountered many hardships.

The patient used the strongest words in trying to explain to me how this story had shocked her. But it had not been only because of compassion for her friend; more than all had her sense of justice been affronted. She had felt that the matter was an insult directed against her sex. She even had desired, at the time, to make public interference in order to expose a code of morals, that will condone such treatment of a woman who elects to decide the circumstances of her own life.

After this narration I asked the patient if she could not herself guess the reason why such recollections had now come to her, out of her unconscious mind. Hesitatingly she then brought them into connection with all I previously had explained to her in regard to morbid identification, etc. She called to mind the incident at the horse-races in X-Burg and admitted that her thoughts, since she had been made to see clearly through them, had

slowly worked out analogous experiences. Without a clear understanding of that incident she never would have been able to understand that she had, unconsciously, confounded her own fate with that of her friend.

I spared no words in making fully clear to her, until she herself was finally convinced of the truth, that we now, on the spot, had discovered the nucleus of her imaginary persecution. What she had experienced during the past ten years had been no persecution directed against herself; of such a thing not a trace existed. It had been the persecution against her friend. This, wrongly brought into connection with her own "I," had amalgamated in the depths of her unconscious mind and had been brought to light by the incident in X-Burg. There she had herself been in a position similar in certain aspects to that of her friend. She had feared becoming gravid and unconsciously had come to the conclusion that such a misfortune would bring about like consequences to herself. Then in her unconscious mind had taken fire, the great struggle with the opponents of the rights of women and she had prepared herself to be persecuted and hunted down. Gradually this persecution-complex had broken its way through to the conscious mind. Making use of paths already staked out for it, it had usurped more and more authority over her personality, and so contracted the limits of her life within narrower and narrower boun-

daries. In this way she had become the victim of the hallucinations.

After she accepted this explanation, the feeling that she had had her long-fettered feet made free, seemed to take more and more hold upon her and she found herself coming more and more continually into contact with the outside world. Nevertheless the struggle between the complex and reality was not yet over. It was an almost insurmountable difficulty to carry through a revaluation of experiences which had lasted for ten years. I constantly had to support the inner working of her mind with energetic suggestions. In spite of everything, her doubts were always ready to be awakened and the unbelievable strength of her illusions was ready to spring into light. It seemed to her impossible to think that all the thousands of evidences of the persecution, could actually be false; yet on the other hand deliverance from all this misery was so great a happiness, that she could scarcely credit the reality of its coming to pass.

I finally felt obliged to make a proposition to her that she should speak to one of her imaginary persecutors. I selected for this purpose Miss D. who had been the last person with whom the patient had held any communication.

The patient wanted to think this idea over. On the 24th of March I received a note, containing the following lines: "I have determined to take no half-

measures. I must appeal to Miss D. Her opinion now seems necessary to me, if I am to get a clear idea of my own mental condition and of my position toward the world. Will you please write to her about it?"

On the first of April when I told the patient that I had talked about her with Miss D. and that the latter had not the slightest suspicion of any persecution, she answered me simply:— "Then my last doubt is gone."

From that date the patient may be considered recovered. A week later when she called upon me she felt herself entirely free. She had made a call upon Miss D. and the old friendship was just as strong as ever between them. Furthermore she had again started taking dinners at a restaurant and her friends there had made a little feast to welcome her back.

She continued to visit me once every week until I left town in June. During this time she renewed old connections more and more freely. It had become a delight to her to walk through the streets, to visit shops, etc., without the slightest feeling of uneasiness. She was overjoyed to stand once more in natural rapport with life. Of her past illness she spoke with entire objectivity. Once, for example, she asked my opinion as to whether she had had hallucinations or not. She believed that the movements of the tongue sometimes were hallucinations because

they had been made with such lightning speed. Genuine movements scarcely could be made so rapidly. Very likely the scraping with the feet too had been hallucinatory. I told her that in my opinion she had reached the right conclusion in this matter.

When the summer was over the patient again came to see me. She had spent her vacation with a friend at the seaside, and had had great pleasure out of it. She had there made many pleasant acquaintances with whom she had daily association. The old thoughts had never returned. She said very calmly: ". . . It was an illness. Now it is over."

During the past year the patient has visited me perhaps a dozen times. We have talked together about literature and the various events of the day. Occasionally I have made use of my opportunity to inquire into details concerning her past life. I never have been able to discover the slightest trace of either relapse or mental weakness. She has worked with full forces and she has lost no opportunity to enjoy whatever pleasure came in her way.

Several times she has expressed a wish that I make her case-history public. "Perhaps," she has said, "it might help someone else and then I should not have gone through my fearful suffering to no purpose." When I determined to do this I told her and she was greatly gratified.

I had, after the treatment came to a conclusion, made the acquaintance of the patient's niece of whom

I have already had occasion to speak,—a very intelligent and highly educated woman. She knew with certainty that the love-affair of the patient in X-Burg was no imaginary experience but something which she really had lived through. She (the niece) had known the man concerned. Through this niece I was able to verify statements of the patient concerning her family, etc. During the whole course of the treatment the niece had met daily with the patient and discussed the new points of view with her. There is no doubt, that in this niece I had a valuable ally.

We still have the question to consider as to whether other circumstances than those solely connected with my treatment, had influence upon the patient. The one change in her external life during this time, was the death of her father. To all appearances this event had passed with her as any indifferent occurrence might have done. She came the same day, as usual, to me for her treatment, nor should I have suspected that anything had happened if she had not been dressed in mourning. The man was very old and ill and, like the rest of the family, the patient looked upon his death as a kind of relief. I am convinced that this occurrence had not even an unconscious effect upon the state of her mind. I am furthermore convinced that no conditions unknown to me had had influence upon her. The niece, who was conversant with all details in the life of the

patient, surely would not have remained in ignorance if any such conditions had existed, nor in her sympathetic assistance with my work in the case, would she have failed to report any contingent circumstances to me.

VIII

POINTS OF VIEW AND OUTLOOKS

IT is difficult to obtain a clear outlook over the possibilities of psychotherapy through a fragmentary presentation of some of its issues and lines of thought. Even if we should go through in detail everything which, during the past century can possibly be looked upon as falling within this sphere, and if we should pause at each one who has had anything to do with it, we should not even then be able fully to comprehend what it now means. And still less should we be able to construct for ourselves a clear idea of the present status of psychotherapy and of the purpose toward which it most deeply aims. It is necessary to see it all in wider historical connections.

In its earliest state the healing art was inextricably mixed up with religion. The priest was also the medicine man. Zarathustra's holy books contain very many rules concerning ablutions, etc.; things which in these days would come under the head of hygiene. In the Greek temple of Asclepius, the gods enlightened those who slept within, as to how

they might free themselves from disease. Thus in the earliest state of culture there arose a struggle within mankind to guard itself against unseen enemies by whom it felt itself to be surrounded; to these enemies disease belonged,—it was as dim and intangible as the rest. This struggle was an aimless one, a grasping after anything at all in which there seemed to be, even for the moment, an atom of help. Out of this guarded primitive-culture the art of healing was differentiated as a decided, limited factor in human life. This came about through observation, the fixing of cause and effect and the contrivance of means, the value of which could with surety be verified. It became the task of this new function to conquer, on the sure road of experience, one field after another. The history of medicine simply shows how research, century after century, has taken hold of the phenomena of disease, which at an earlier period had been thought to originate from the interference of unknown gods. Primitive culture has constantly tried to keep this development down. Even now the disentanglement of medicine from religion meets with opposition. How tenacious this is, is shown for instance, in the annals of Lourdes. And how deeply rooted the association is in the human consciousness, may be understood from the enormous following which such a movement as Christian Science can win, even among those who believe themselves educated.

The psychic-life is generally the sphere wherein the application of causal laws meets with greatest difficulties. When the thought first came up that each observable phenomenon in the external world is a decided consequence of a decided act, it met with unprecedented opposition. Gradually we became used to this way of representation. The idea that the same thing holds good in the observable phenomena of the psychic life, continues to be strange to many. And this more especially in questions of morbid conditions. Anxiety comes upon a person without knowledge as to whence it came and the victim calms himself with the thought that lies nearest at hand, viz: "This *has* no special cause." If we discover something in the world about us that we do not understand we presume at once that after closer examination we may be able to deduce a reason for it out of given laws. But if we discover in a similar way something unfamiliar within ourselves, we much too easily accept the feeling that we are the prey of forces which are not to be reached. It is hard to see the connection between cause and effect in the sphere of the unsound mental life; but it must be allowed that we are victims to gross illusion when, powerless before this difficulty, we decide that no connection exists,—or that in every case, it is incapable of being unraveled.

All this means that the disentanglement of psycho-

therapy from primitive culture has not kept abreast of the rest of medicine. In this field people still surrender themselves to chance, time, contingencies, —whatever they call that which they believe they are unable to grasp,—just as a thousand years ago they resigned themselves to the devastation of epidemics. Or else they seek help in every conceivable direction, whether it has connection with the genuine cause of suffering or not, simply because "something must be done." It would be an interesting task to show how primitive man's way of apprehending the world, still lives in this sphere of consciousness, stretched out to an extent concerning which no one may be able to obtain a clear idea. Who, for instance, reckons, in the critical examination of his feelings, with the periodicity of the psychic-life, in precisely the same way we reckon with that periodicity in the external world, which reveals itself in the change between day and night, summer and winter; —and yet the former is no less obvious than the latter. In an old romance of the north country it is related how the people, when the sun in the autumn showed itself each day less and less, were seized with terrible fear lest it should never again return, and how this fear continued during the whole of the dark period. We have acquired an undisturbed trust in the conformity to law of external forces; but how very far we really are from similar confidence in that

which takes place within ourselves. And when shall we come so far that we not only shall understand, but also be able to subordinate the forces of the inner life,—in a way similar to that in which we now work to make the utmost use of nature's forces in our service? I have several times in the foregoing studies called attention to the fact that the chief aim of psychotherapy is often the re-valuing, through which something which formerly was destructive becomes a means for advancement. But this goal seems very distant when not even the slightest presumption that we shall be able to aspire to it,—the feeling of all things being established by law, is common property.

One ought to be able to show in every single respect how psychotherapy's disentanglement as an independent factor in human life, is hindered by primitive conceptions and by the preservation of these conceptions by institutions which long since have outlived their usefulness. Much which rightfully falls within the field of a purposeful psychotherapy and ought to have been relegated to that field, is still associated in the most perplexing and indefinite way, with religious ideas. Possibly it may yet require centuries to dissolve every bit of this residue of the past. It is not necessary to examine the question here; but if one wishes to understand psychotherapy's struggle for freedom out of bondage, one must look at it in connection with the difficulties which medicine in

general has had to overcome, in order to arrive at its present status.

* * *

If psychotherapy is to succeed in constituting itself as a necessary part of the life-culture it means first of all that all efforts which revolve about it be gathered together, humanized, and developed. The inner process of education is more important than the fight against external conditions, no matter how old may be the prejudices upon which this fight may be founded.

Instead of tearing the movement to shreds in discussion of theoretical details, its representatives must above all have great unity of purpose in view, before which all incidental differences of meaning become relatively unimportant. A great work must be attacked from different sides; every personal thought-force represents one such side. When the same necessity lies at the bottom of all attacks, the work by itself, during its growth reaches a certain unification.

I have tried to show how psychotherapy has taken on peculiar differences in the hands of different teachers. Now one, now another foundation for it has been tried, and adjustment of the treatment toward one or another purpose has been striven after.

In spite of this there is no difficulty in demonstrating the unity which is behind all this apparent dissension. Ideas emanating from different sources are like different threads upon which the growth is spun out to greater lengths;—and all threads run together to a warp where the fabric finally appears in bold relief, picturing life itself with all its depths and all its variations between light and shade. The warp is in danger as soon as some one endeavors to make one thread or the other the only one essential;—and this the more if at the same time one tries to cut the other threads in hope of being able to demonstrate their superfluity. Sadly enough one can not exonerate any single one among the leaders in this line of thought from having made an effort in this direction. But happily on the other hand, one begins to see the unsuitability of all such attempts. Especially from one direction there is at work an earnest effort to free the movement from all one-sided tendencies and to lift it up in its entirety, to a higher plane.

* * *

One of these threads of development, I have tried in the foregoing pages to deduce from Feuchtersleben. For him the chief characteristic was the emphasizing of the importance of common-sense for the preservation of health. His dream was of some

doctrine of wisdom which would be so wholly in harmony with nature's own arrangements that he who let himself be led by her would be able to take care of his inner equilibrium, no matter how strong were the storms of life which might try to shake it. That this dream could not be realized is chiefly because most of that which threatens the harmony of the psychic-life, does not lie as a rule within the sphere of consciousness, and therefore is not accessible to the working out of the laws of common-sense. But despite all limitations, this rationalistic trend will always keep its value. Today in its most pronounced form it is supported by Dubois and is a somewhat milder way by Dejerine.

A great mass of suffering has its root in misapprehensions, exaggerated suspicions, stirred-up demands which can not be satisfied. Many people suspect an incurable trouble in every pain, or judge themselves in the severest way for each thought that arises in opposition to their longing for purity. It falls within the activity of the doctor to bring such confusion to rights by throwing light upon it; he does not bear the name doctor,—teacher, for nothing. It may often happen that a valetudinarian feels himself freed, after a single investigation into his inner life, from some burden he has carried on his back for years. But oftener it happens that the patient has tangled himself into such confusion, and that erroneous ideas have become so fixed into his

mind, that deliverance from them can be attained only after exhaustive analysis. Under such circumstances it is by no means enough to say "Such and such is so." One must be able by means of numerous analogies to demonstrate that it *is* so; one must be able to convince the patient of the right of these causal-connections, which at first glance appear to be unfounded. In order to do this, not only the knowledge of the neurologist concerning nervous disturbances is necessary, but also the insight of the psychologist, as to those ways in which the patient has come to accept something unreal in the place of reality. Without a deepened power for acute observation of all that which in co-operation, has built up the psychic turmoil, the rationalistic movement dissolves into empty dialectic. It is greatly to be deplored that Dubois instead of appropriating psychanalysis and using it, has tried to support "his method's" superiority against it.

And it is much to be regretted that Feuchtersleben has no disciples in these days who would seek to apply modern human wisdom to psychotherapy. The one who perhaps comes nearest to this, Marcinowski, follows far too one-sidedly in Nietzsche's foot-steps. It is not sufficient to gather wisdom from the painful experiences of one or another thinker; one must try to harken to it directly from all the lamentations under which the times are groaning.

Everyone has certain directing lines for his way

of thinking and acting. If one wishes by way of rational persuasion to bring about a favorable change where nervous disturbances are concerned, one must also let himself be led by certain principles. Whence shall we then produce them? From those most generally applied? It will not be denied that there are truths which constantly hold a certain value; but there is nothing which under all circumstances has an equal value. By far the plainest of these truths seems to be that the same thing which under certain conditions may lead one person to sickness, under different conditions may lead another to health. There is nothing more risky than to hold fast to any decided principle according to which an effort is made to influence all. The psychotherapist in front of each individual case must be willing to give up himself as well as anything else which he highly values; he must with entire plasticity, seek to adapt himself to the special exigencies of the case. The line of direction for his persuasion he must fetch out of the patient's own psychic-life in the given situation; it means to abstract from the condition, those truths which have the highest value just for him in just that moment. I have already called attention to this in another connection; but too much stress cannot be laid upon this point. Nothing can be more against the spirit of psychotherapy than an effort to force the mind into a ready-made thought-system, which may have either religious or scientific

imprint. For all such attempts counteract the true fundamental conditions for real psychic health—namely individual liberation and the preservation of inner plasticity. If one is fettered by mass-instincts, petrified in thoughts that do not arise from one's own inner life, even if apparently one seems to continue mentally sound, it is by no means sure that one's state is such that it ought to be preferred to a turbulent struggle with reality.

From the psychanalytical view-point all manner of objections are made against treatment by persuasion. One reasons about it after this manner: life is as a rule not built up in a logical way—it is our feelings and impulses that determine all things—the thoughts are only a superficial temporary remodeling of those forces, a secondary "rationalization" of their content. All the opinions of a person are constructed in this manner in roundabout ways, out of the most profound earthly forces; against these, logical persuasion carries no weight. As a matter of fact, no one lets himself be talked over to anything and every attempt to aid a sufferer in this way is vain. More plainly than this, spiritual loneliness cannot be pointed out. It will be hard to find a line of thought which excels the Freud dogmatism in making life isolated.

Nevertheless in the persuasion method there is a certain degree of truth.

It is true that nothing can be lastingly inserted

into a mind by means of persuasion, which is strange to that mind. But persuasion may be a forceful aid in actualizing something vital which has sunk down out of sight and withered away. It is perhaps true that life and the activity to which we are destined, far from carrying on our inner accretion of power, often—or most often—is of the greatest danger to it. Social demands trample unscrupulously upon that to which we aspire in our longing toward freedom; they seek to bring the very desires of our hearts to silence. When this goes on year after year our natures draw back into themselves distracted; more and more the feeling of what one is and what one wishes, is lost. It is the psychanalyst's duty to call forth these voices of the deep, which have so continually been silenced that the patient no longer hears them himself. If he is successful in doing this and if he gets the proper grip on the personality of the patient, then he may often need the whole logical strength of persuasion to convince that patient that he is what he is. The real self has disappeared so entirely in this leveling struggle, that at first the patient does not recognize it when it again stands before his eyes;—the analyst must point out now one, now the other feature in order to convince him that it really belongs to that self. It is true that every person is a being in himself and that each of us in his inmost nature is alone. But one of the greatest values of life lies in this fact,—

for if it were not true we should never be able to discover each other. And in the joy of this discovery the oppression of loneliness disappears.

I said the foremost representative of the rationalistic method of treatment, Dubois, turned against the modern trend of thought which is summed up under the name, psychanalysis. This, however, has not prevented its development. It more nearly signified that he and his followers turned against treatment by suggestion. In childish self-vindication he has set up his "persuasion" idea in opposition to the old idea of suggestion. This has produced, in connection therewith, treatises by the hundred, where, in scholastic dialectic, attempts have been made to draw boundaries between these two ideas in order to then give either one or the other the preference;—the result has been confusion.

In the foregoing pages I defined suggestion as an idea which is carried into effect in the organism in a unique way; it implies transition from imagination to reality. As I have just said, by means of persuasion something which has lost its reality value may once more regain it. There is thus a kind of inner affinity between the two processes. This nevertheless, does not prevent one from theoretically separating them; the homogeneous changes may come about in different ways. However, this separation has very little of interest. For in practice the boundary lines run together. In practice there is no ques-

tion of a theoretical preference over the one or the other; there one makes use of that which is most suitable to the occasion.

A little episode occurs to me which made the nature of suggestion suddenly stand out clear before me.

Once many years ago, I was out on a tramp in the mountains and started early one morning to ascend a peak. I had been up before and knew the ascent was not dangerous. I had a guide with whom I had had long acquaintance and upon whom I could rely implicitly. But somehow when I neared the top I became frightened. The chasms below yawned terrifyingly and the ice-slopes above were steep;—I stopped and gazed down at the sharp rocks among which I should land in case I lost my footing. I grew dizzy and the distance between me and my guide seemed to grow. At last I shouted to him that he must chop better steps in the ice. He turned around, he must have noticed something unsteady in my voice; for he answered at once: "No need of that! There isn't a trace of danger." And so he went on.— I can still recall how all apprehension disappeared at once as if by magic. I laughed at the feeling I had had. I looked down and up with the same composure I would have felt in walking the levelest and most familiar road. The words of the guide had meant something quite other than the expression of a fact, the communication of an idea;

they had meant an inner change of the most obvious sort.

The first and most momentous reason for the possibility of this occurrence lies in the fact that I had become confused and that the words brought me back to reality. They actualized, to put it in another way, something that was within me, but which for the moment was obscured by delusive feelings and erroneous representations. Had a real danger existed, the words would have meant nothing to me. The other reason lay in my confidence in the guide. I knew him well enough to be positive that he never would say anything that he himself was not sure of. This may seem like credulity. But I knew that if it had been necessary, he would, by means of examples of similar cases—by pointing out the angles of the ice-slopes, the softness of the ice, etc.,—have been able to demonstrate the truthfulness of his assertion. Back of this is really hidden all the logical apparatus of persuasion.

Something like it continually happens in the relation between doctor and patient. What else is the invalid but a poor seeking wanderer in the desolate places of life. Things swim before his eyes, everything looks terrible and hard to climb—he is unable to calmly pilot himself between the yawning abysses of his conflicts. If the physician says: "Here is your way!"—he must also be able to prove that it is so. And if he can do that then the use of many

words would be superfluous. It is not necessary to enter upon the question of the mystery of silence in order to show how a single hearty grasp of the hand may sometimes hold more meaning than the most eloquent explanation. And suggestion is simply that spiritual grasp of the hand that directly carries things once more to their right place.

Understanding of this is important because it is with this setting aside of obscure complications in the feeling- and thought-life, that one especially has to do. The prevailing idea of treatment by suggestion has been that it simply means the implanting of health-bringing thoughts;—it much oftener implies the breaking down and dissolving of auto-suggestions which stand in the way of recovery. We become ill chiefly because of experiences filled with fear, around which there assemble hopeless thoughts and fantasies, that outline the whole of existence as a single horror,—until they become a barrier which the current of life does not succeed in breaking through when it tries to reach us. In such spheres are built up those false syntheses which hold us bound and which decide what takes place in our inner lives.

It seems to me far beyond all doubt that treatment by suggestion is constructed upon such a true foundation, that it deserves a broader place in therapeutics than it now holds. But it must most assuredly not be carelessly handled nor allowed to sink into

mere routine mold. It can and must be made of deeper import.

* * *

I said that it is unnecessary to ponder over the mystery of silence in order to understand suggestion;—but the same thing can scarcely be said regarding treatment by hypnosis. In the latter case the effort is made to arrive at an inner quietude in which not only the use of many words becomes superfluous, but which at the same time, means immediate disentanglement from everything that tears everyday life to pieces. What hinders self-healing of the wound is often simply lack of stillness,—lack of ability to silence the voices within us. Just as by means of suggestion one tries to actualize the essential qualities in a person and give to these qualities power to carry the burden, so in hypnosis one tries to bring the patient into a condition where everything that interferes with silence is eliminated. Both therapeutic factors in the literature concerning them, have customarily been considered together, even to such an extent that the two terms have been used as synonymous. They have an inner connection, but scarcely of the kind generally imagined. Hypnotism is at the same time both simpler and more full of mystery. We all know how we are more susceptible to that which reaches us from without, the more

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indeed, as we let the thoughts have free rein and abandon ourselves to them. We do not catch the deeper import of what some one says, if we brace ourselves to meet it with our own counter arguments; we do not feel all the sentiment which rests over nature if our attention remains bound up in some problem which occupied us before we went out of doors. The added susceptibility—the suggestibility—in hypnosis is nothing but a consequence of the intentional unfastening of the trend of thought. And it thus has far-reaching association with the commonest every day circumstances. But when this simple process reaches a certain point it is as if the whole tension into which the daily life has knit itself together, and in which we are compulsorily fettered, relaxed. It is as if the soul-life at the same time gained additional, more graduated plasticity, a freedom, due to which things may be carried into effect in our inner lives, which under ordinary circumstances would remain objects to be wished for in vain. It is after an expression for this, that one seeks when one talks about suggestibility in its deeper meaning; here one touches something that has to do with the mystery of life itself. And that one stands sometimes in the practical demonstration of this circumstance, before phenomena which work wonders, can scarcely be a subject for denial. Those quick cures of which we read in the literature of the decade from 1880-1890, were not products of the

mind, but realities. I have myself many times seen such curative action, which unless I had seen it, I should have had hard work to credit. But unfortunately such things are not to be counted on. The modern physician holds decided opposition to everything he cannot bring into full and tangible connection with the rest of knowledge. He prefers to let one factor lie untouched until its claim for clear explanation is satisfied, rather than to reckon with it in any wavering uncertain form. Hitherto there has been insuperable difficulty in amalgamating hypnosis with the rest of science; how an effort I have made in this direction will come out is still uncertain. For myself, however, it means a solution of the problem.

* * *

In cures in the hypnotic condition many different factors undoubtedly play a part. That these factors may be separated and demonstrated each one by itself, seems to me probable; it should in other words signify a deliberate development of hypnotic therapy along different lines.

As an example of what I mean I may here mention Frank's way of getting at hypnosis. It is allied most closely to the first stadium of psychanalyses. It was applied then to the effort to "abreact" those affects which had been pushed aside into the uncon-

scious mind. In this way one made an endeavor to bring them again to life, to reproduce them in the consciousness. As I showed when speaking of this before, we have come, because of reasons which, viewed on a large scale must be considered valid, away from this road. Psychanalysts satisfy themselves now in general, with the working out of the repressed idea-material itself and with the explanation of this material;—it is on this last point that the chief importance now lies.

But the original standpoint hides a kernel of truth which entitles it to preservation.

The continuity in the chain of different experiences is first brought about through the inner connection of the feelings. There was a deep folk-hygienic wisdom in the old rule which compelled every one to go to mass each morning. There people were calmed into the same mood from day to day, from month to month, from year to year;—it was like a continuous living stream of feeling that bore them, one might almost say, from the cradle to the grave. If there came then inner storms of the most lacerating kind, this foundation-current of the feelings nevertheless always represented a certain connection. The modern man stripped of all such assistance finds himself in a situation which leaves possibilities open for inharmonious disorganization reaching to the very bottom of his nature. Every time a person is carried away by a new emotion, the same thing as a

new "I" is built up in his mind. And if this discontinuity is once well constructed, it is hard to overcome. Life continually goes on—driven by the hope that at last one feeling shall force all others into the background and dissolve all that has gone before into undisturbed harmony. But just in that lack of collectedness which the emotion implies, lies the greatest obstacle for hope that this ever will be accomplished. For the qualification itself for a great and all-devouring feeling is simply a certain inner centralization of the emotions—a possibility for all the separate currents to flow together.

It is right to try to make use of that inner stillness which is the essence of hypnosis, toward a gathering together of the shattered emotions. One shuts out thereby every new thing which might further disturb these emotions; this means the isolation of the individual within himself. It means further that concentration inward, which is so characteristic of hypnosis. If we wish to bring out into our consciousness something which has been repressed and lies hidden behind strong opposition, then we direct the attention toward that end; by so doing first comes out the memory-picture itself, stripped of all the sentiments and affects with which it originally was bound up, and which in it had its symbol. Only little by little does all come to life again—the picture itself fading away before the deeper reality. When in such a way one again lives through those feelings

which have been most vital in life as ineffaceable realities in a single connection, then is the disharmony made loose from its foundation. I am inclined to believe that the strong effect Wetterstrand obtained by means of the prolonged sleep, in a great measure was due to the fact that during it there set in spontaneously some such centralizing of the emotions. At least I have found it so at various times when I myself have made use of the same method.

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In the face of the effort of psychanalysis to monopolize psychotherapy, not even the most valuable of the earlier suggestions has been able to hold ground. Not only because all the new viewpoints it gives us, draw attention away from what already was proven; but more because it turns itself against everything old and tries to trample it under foot. In the eyes of his pupils, Freud not only has definitely solved the riddle of the Theban Sphinx but he has also torn away the veil from the sphinx that stands staring over modern life, and that has its everlasting representative in Hamlet. And under the lines of direction Freud gives out for methods of treatment all other efforts must be subordinated.

I said before that the so-called rational therapy, the logical persuasion, is dismissed as worthless by Freud and his school. In an earlier connection I

pointed out how they maintain the emptiness of treatment by suggestion, through talk of the transference of the father-complex upon the doctor. The latter question is, however, more complicated than they considered it. To silence all talk about suggestion playing any part in psychanalysis, Freud has banished the world itself from all the literature inspired by him. For all those psychological conditions which are brought to light by means of the study of suggestion, he uses his own designations. His fundamental idea is this: suggestion is at first hand an affective phenomenon signifying such things as confidence, collusion, sympathy, etc.— If these are not there, transferred representations cannot be carried over in the characteristic way. It thus means really a transference of feelings with a definite content of ideas. The suggestion is consequently nothing but a special case of transference in general. Therewith Freud solves the whole thing in one of his principles. Because the transference proceeds from our earliest emotional associations, i. e. those with mother and father, it finally means the transference of corresponding complexes. It is unnecessary to add that these, like everything else in the world-progress has the sexual key-note; suggestion is thus a sexual phenomenon.

By means of such desperate forcing of everything into an inelastic theoretical *impasse* there is effected, however, something quite different from that

which was intended. Truths are not altered because they are given a stamp which makes them apparently unreal or absurd. If they have not in themselves such strong holding-power that they survive this procedure, they soon of themselves disappear out of the reckoning. This way of treating the truth-values of the past, shows better than anything else the limitations of a view-point. All criticisms coming from without and all inner scientific differences, do not so much harm what Freud brought forth, as does his infelicitious tendency to drive one-sidedness to absurdity. It is depressing to see such a movement work upon its own annihilation. For it can never be denied that it was first through the ideas which came from this direction, that psychotherapy was able to lift itself up to importance and become a general life-factor. Freud with one stroke has given the study of the soul-life such breadth and such surety, that we have obtained a foundation upon which to build for all time. One may be never so bitter against him for the blunders he has made—yet no one can carry out a single simple treatment without making use of some thing he discovered. It devolves upon those who will take the scientific inheritance after him to see to it that all his daring ingenious ideas are followed out with every conceivable freedom from prejudice. Only then can everything which now is in a state of fermentation, be worked out.

And yet not so much skill is needed to unite psych-

analysis to what already obtained when Freud took hold of the subject.

Concerning the psychology of suggestion for instance, the analogy between post-hypnotic suggestion and childhood-trauma has many times been pointed out. And this with right. In post-hypnotic suggestion an idea, which one induces into the medium, is released into action after a definite time, or becomes apparent by means of a transitory nervous disturbance, as loss of sensation, paralysis or something of the sort. Childhood trauma is in a similar way a sphere of representations which life works into the consciousness in an earlier stadium, and which after decades, breaks out in neuroses, giving definite forms to their symptoms. Supposing that suggestion always does contain an affective moment—everything is far from said that may be said concerning this process. If one applies in this manner what one has learned to know about suggestion from the psychanalytical store of knowledge, much clearness of vision is won.

But of yet greater import than that these new ideas have, without restraint, added themselves to that which already was astir within the realm of psychotherapeutics, is that they incorporate, reorganize, cleanse and go deeply into, the psychic means, through which people long before this time had tried to find a road to health. We find again here on a

new plane, suited to modern demands, many factors which played a great part in intellectual culture.

There is a deep-seated necessity in mankind for confiding in someone. We exist as a rule, not as isolated beings, but only in and through each other and with a bond that holds us all together. There are circumstances under which this necessity cannot be looked after in the ordinary way, by means of conversation between friend and friend. There are secret places so deeply hidden, that we cannot bear to see again one to whom we have disclosed them;—there are things that are so holy, that never under conditions common to daily life, can we find an hour quiet enough to give us courage to touch upon them. . . . It is out of such postulations that the confessional sprang forth as a necessary life-factor. However paradoxical it may seem, there are divers circumstances that make it easier to talk with an outsider about things most intimate, than with one who belongs to us. The latter can not avoid taking part in those painful emotions by which we are tormented, in quite another way than does the former—and this resonance may easily increase the pain; instead of then becoming free ourselves, we have on the contrary, dragged another down into our own misery. It requires something which under every condition can maintain its objectivity—for what we covet is simply to get a part of this objectivity and so make free our pain from ourselves as an object by itself.

And furthermore: if we rely no matter how little upon someone dear to us, it can then never be said that we are relying upon our own discretion as fully as necessary. This discretion must needs be kept going because of something other than a personal promise, something like a public institution which under no circumstances can be disturbed; this must be the priest's or the physician's official duty. And first and last; it is by no means enough that the person to whom we speak should listen as one person ordinarily listens to another;—he must so listen that our confusion clears itself away and our uncertainty is dispersed.

When we have this point in view, we better understand what I referred to by way of introduction—the difficulty psychotherapy has had to make itself free from primitive ideas. The confessional from olden time belonged to the priest, and it still does so in many countries. And this although it is really as absurd to beg the priest to listen to the agony of the mind as it would be to ask him to listen to the heart in order to determine if its valves are sound. The priest lacks the scientific education necessary to be able to decide if an affliction is determined physically or psychically—and this scientific education must always remain the starting point of each investigation. Far from signifying a work toward individual liberation, the confessor's study is turned toward forcing existence into a system of thought

which has little value in the life of our times. And his activity is bound up with a vow to preserve this thought system. Face to face with the individual human being's pain, the question with him never becomes one of how, through liberation of the cramped forces, he may be able to reach out toward healthful life-work and harmony;—it means only a dragging forth of old doctrinal phrases, in the hope that they may be able to bring some comfort. That which gives courage and strength is a feeling of personal value, which the psychotherapist strives to present when he clears up causal-connection complications and shows that the sufferer has been a victim of conflicts and misconceptions;—on the other hand there is nothing so humiliating for such a sufferer, as to hear his inner struggle for freedom summarily dismissed with a few moral phrases.

This circumstance becomes even plainer if we consider the question of redemption.

This is the confessional's final goal. And it is arrived at through the idea that the priest, by means of some mystic power, confers remission of sins. It does not need to be pointed out that the priest thereby betrays his descent from the magic wizard, and that this point in the religious-system is a remnant of the oldest, most primitive of ideas. Inner redemption is a psychologic process, which in the same degree as other processes is open to research. We can investigate the roads upon which those who have

attained most in spiritual redemption, searched toward their goal—we can find certain general features which can be applied to others and help less happily circumstanced individuals on. I have already shown how this instruction in the art of inner redemption is an important component part in psychotherapy. In that way we attempt to make the happiest hours which the strong experience, general property;—we proceed from the undisturbed fact that the strong in this succeed in casting away the burden of suffering under the weight of which others have gone to pieces. We ask how? And we seek the answer through analytical research. We say— "There is the road!" And if it turns out impassible, in any case we do not tire of pointing out the fact that it nevertheless is there.

But it serves little advantage to talk of this thing. Already for centuries mankind on its onward path, has seen into that which is absurd and demoralizing in the confessional. That the confessional has been able in so widespread a degree to prevail, is altogether dependent upon the tenacity with which the folk-consciousness clings to a thing which is well worked into it—and nothing can alter this. But what these people have not understood, is how to estimate the necessity that ultimately lies at the foundation of the confessional; had they done that, they would have understood also that this too must in some way be looked after. The fact is that the

confessional has more and more been put over upon the physician. With or against his will the family doctor often is dragged into all the conflicts and sorrows that ultimately lie at the bottom of those disturbances for which he has been consulted. In this very fact is already a step ahead. Unfortunately the doctor, because of the strong material features incident to his whole education, has difficulty in estimating psychic factors at their full value; besides how is he to give himself time to hear everything a patient has to tell? His time is already overfull of things which more directly fall into his sphere of action. Intimate conversation is to him always something incidental. It is, however, to this actual transference of the confessional from priest to doctor, from religion to science, that psychotherapy is connected. Its development consists only in that it changes into something of especial import what to the doctor in general has been a minor thing, a trifle, and that it puts forward especial training toward this end as a deliberate intention. And it is psychanalysis which at this point has been the lever of the development; for it has brought to light the absolute necessity of mutual discourse for the bringing about of psychic health.

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However psychanalysis is something more than the drawing forth of everything that has disturbed a life

in its making and that has led unfoldment of this life astray. It does not limit itself to the throwing of light upon what is dragged out of dark nooks and corners, whither an effort has been made to force it back;—it strives before all after what its name implies, viz: the breaking up of that which is brought to light.

Even in this regard psychanalysis is connected directly with a primitive life-factor. As far back as it is possible to trace culture, one may also plainly trace a certain tendency among its first representatives toward introspection, a tendency to ponder over what happened in the inner life. It has not merely been a question of becoming lost in that inner life—a longing after an intensified perception of all its workings; it has been an attempt to take hold of these workings intellectually and to break them up into their elementary factors. This destructive inner activity has grown into the consciousness as something so self-evident, that we do not even reflect upon the fact that in reality it is something unnatural. The one thing natural, the one thing which spontaneously awakens happiness and makes life richer, is the free expression of those forces which come from our inner life—they may seek their outlet in the form of contemplation, of impulses, of activity. To thus turn ourselves against life's forces as against enemies, to try to grind them to pieces . . . like everything unnatural this produces aversion for life. And still

this analytical feature, which is found among the upholders of culture in all times must have authorization. We come clearly upon it when we examine the individual thinkers; we find how they carry on something in the unconscious mind that leaves them no peace—thoughts perpetually circle around this thing —it is a problem they must have solved. What is the single individual but a symbol of the whole? In each muser is mirrored the suffering that burdens all,—the same riddle over which mankind as a whole has brooded, generation after generation, comes back to each and every one of them.

This compulsion toward self-analysis increases during all phases of unfoldment which, more than others, form boundary lines between something that has been and something that is to be. It may be hard to find a time when this fact has been more evident than in the present. Ever since Rousseau dissected and laid bare his morbid impulses and his most intimate feelings, numberless writers have freed their inner lives with similar unmercifulness. And this has won response;—those who have gone the farthest have been the most highly esteemed. One does not need to mention other names than Ibsen, Nietzsche, Strindberg, Dostojewski. It is as if the need of clear inner vision forced itself out with such strength, that all other considerations must retire into the background.

To this feature also psychanalysis joins itself

That it has attained such rapid and surprising response, is largely because it has been prepared for in this way, in the general consciousness. But it is still more because of something else; it breaks open a new road for analysis. Instead of being handled as hitherto, by individual thinkers and writers, it now becomes an object for joint research. It no longer is the thought property of single individuals—it is a question of co-operative work on the broadest basis. Just as every one in the dream becomes spontaneously a poet, who conjures out symbols and metaphors which in depth and clearness often eclipse the best that acknowledged writers have succeeded in bringing forth, so each one, through dream-analysis, may become a thinker who assists in spreading light over the unknown. When everything that in this way becomes manifest, is gathered together and arranged, there arises hope that the analytical tendency in this new system of co-operation may succeed in reaching out toward a goal, which hitherto has constantly disappeared as an illusion. Thus far psychanalysis has indeed already shown itself to be something other than empty illusion, since everyone, who with comprehension, has followed Freud's researches may get gratifying answers to many hitherto obscure life problems.

I shall not again touch upon any of the details of psychanalysis. Only at one point I must pause.

What first is most striking in a cursory glance

over Freud's work, is his emphasizing of the power of the past over us. The man of action, who lives in the general whirl and never takes thought of anything other than how he may get along from day to day, does not notice this power. The neurasthenic, on the contrary, who incessantly works up his experiences in order to fret over now one, now another of them, is over-sensitive to this fact. Be the case one way or the other, the past always binds us and rises like a wall in the way of that to which we wish to attain. Even where activity continues free, the past influences it, in all details. One intelligent man, of great energy, said to me when, during analysis, he became aware of this fact: "But then surely every one ought to undergo psychanalysis once a year, in order to discover the real motive for his actions." It is certain that consistent searching through of all the obscurity which drives and hunts us on, should relieve our daily life of much confusion.

"That which is bound on earth shall be bound in heaven." This sentence may here be repeated only with the difference that in the place of earth and heaven, we use the words childhood and the life that succeeds it. It is simply out of all that which is built up during the first years, that opposition to life is chiefly derived. What is disastrous is that this constructive work is not led by the same rationality that later is to be the deciding factor;— it is led by a consciousness that has not learned to separate fact

from fantasy, reality from unreality. In all neuroses this fragment of the childhood-life plays a certain part; in all the peculiar ideas of neurotics it remains and blocks the path for the free building up of the "I." It represents an opposition against which the forces in vain are broken in their struggle toward an ideal which has developed during the years of growth. Often enough one may see how disharmony has its root in this strife between the child in man —its world of illusion and manner of feeling toward life on the one hand—and on the other the reality in which the grown person tries to arrive at harmony. On earth—in heaven;—who knows if it is not simply this bondage to what one thought and felt before one yet was an independent being who could feel and think for himself, that more than anything else prevents the world from becoming a dwelling place of harmony?

I have said before what Freud's incest-doctrine seems to me to imply, if one strips it of its extraordinary terminology. It places the inscrutability of the impulse before one's eyes and shows us how saturated with fate is the early anchorage of the feelings. There is something fearful in all this. Freud has laid bare chasms and exhibited tragic depths before which we ask: "How shall any one be able to escape this thing?" There is nothing farther from Freud than a therapeutic enthusiasm which works every success in practice up to a new illusion. Thus

psychotherapy is made ridiculous if any one imputes to its ability to "cure" all or even half of the suffering that falls within its sphere. Whoever takes up this work must surely soon enough obtain insight into the cruelty of life and the perishableness of hope. But, and this is perhaps the greatest thing in Freud's work,—it is only through the unyielding truth, that a way is opened to freedom; it is only after one lays life bare in its most horrid nakedness that one may hope to come to rights with it. Every system of philosophy built on lies is bad philosophy. On a foundation of lies one may, possibly drag himself along from the jugglery of one day to that of the next; but to so reach a state of existence worthy a human being—never.

It is interesting to note how psychanalysis even at this point, takes up and drives to its extremity a movement, that already occupies a widespread space in cultural life; I refer to the attempt to find out the real life of the child and to help it on to early individual freedom, instead of holding it back in the thought- and feeling-life of childhood. I have already shown how the application of psychanalysis to pedagogics is one of its most important sides. Just as Rousseau when he became conscious of the misery of his own life, turned his interest toward the training of children, so the enlightenment received from psychanalysis must be directed toward the same end. For the individual alone it may seem as if there

were little comfort in this—his own fate remains indeed, just the same. And among all those things which rest heavily upon and oppress us, this feeling is perhaps the cruelest of all; so it is and so it will always be. If we can look with a brighter eye toward the generation to come, something at least of the agony of life is dissipated and we may breathe more easily.

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However this bondage and opposition to life's current originates not only in childhood. In neurotics there remains like a block in the consciousness, not simply an unmelted piece of this. Freud's latest researches go to show that even a bit of primitive man's world is left in neurotics and holds them down. He has presented numerous analogies between savage conceptions, feelings and circumstances, which appear in compulsion-conditions and other nervous symptoms. Something holds good here, similar to the experiences of childhood; fantasies, imaginations, impulses, symbols, work themselves together and construct a whole system, which remains established long after the different units have lost their real significance. As one individual may be burdened by that which he built up and grew into during childhood, so we may all be burdened continually by the dead remains of the childhood of humanity.

It does not need pointing out that psychanalysis also in its attempt to investigate, dissolve and annihilate all this, adds to the prevailing cultural life. It makes a tendency conscious which acted uninterruptedly during many centuries, and it shows its deep importance.

In the face of the enormous efforts investigators have made to work out and reconstruct in minutest detail the past folk-life, many soundly skeptical people have asked: To what end is all this? We surely do not live to dig out ruins which cannot in the slightest degree produce new results; how much more important is it that we should devote our forces toward the formation of something which can give us safety and happiness. Does not the man who busies himself with such things resemble the neurotic who constantly digs into his own morbid inner-life instead of turning himself outwards and enjoying the sun's warmth and all that grows therein? In a certain degree, yes. But as the neurotic must arrive at a clear understanding of something in order to become free from it, so must humanity bring to light the hidden foundation of its life so that it may cast off that which, stretching itself up out of the past, holds it in bondage.— In order to see this connection, one need think only of the old religious dogmas. All attacks against them amounted to little before higher criticism of the Bible came and broke them up. Then disappeared into thin air and became only

legends and fantasies much, which hitherto had lived in the consciousness as tangible reality.

While psychanalysis makes us more conscious of the deep import of research work it drives its emancipating tendencies to the extreme limit; it carries it all the way down into those psychic elements, the syntheses of which construct the foundation for our ideas.

* * *

But psychanalysis means still something more than this dragging forth of psychic material and its dissolution into simpler factors; it means also an interpretation of these forces of the depths. And in most cases this means a re-interpretation, a re-valuation.

It was chiefly through the necessity of drawing the dream-life into analysis that we were forced to put interpretation procedure into the foreground. In this field we may see also more plainly what it means. Dreams come into the consciousness as a meaningless jumble of unconnected pictures; by means of interpretation the real content is brought to light, and through interpretation the connection and meaning becomes apparent. Thus we find that the apparently unimportant pictures are something else than visions whirled about by chance; they are symbols. And behind these symbols are hidden something most deeply essential.

It is an especially important thing that research turned so directly toward the interpretation of symbols. To me it seems to have come upon the nucleus of the matter there.

While speaking of this in the foregoing pages, I pointed out the connection between earlier ways of representation and our dream symbols. This had before been suspected, but no one had been able to explain it as comparative analytical research has done. Nietzsche, for example, dared give out that bold saying of his that the world in which we live during dreams was the only world known to primitive people—i. e. that we fall back during sleep temporarily to their form of life, we make use of their form of expression. This principle ought to broaden our view for what is accidental in the world we believe we experience as final reality. No educated person is likely in these days to take the external world for exactly that reality it seems to us to be; it is the appearance of something unknown—it is finally a symbol which we cannot interpret. The great transformation human consciousness underwent, from the time the world-ideas were formed according to the present laws of the dream-life and to the era of philosophical thinking, thus essentially consists in the creating of new symbols. In place of those fleeting symbols mainly consisting of simple sensuous perceptions, more lasting ones have been constructed, those stamped by the intellectual life

predominating; affect symbolism has been compensated for with science, which opens out into the material world.

Simultaneously with this change an effort has also gone on to interpret the different symbols. People are not content with experiencing existence in one or another form; they will have established also the connection and meaning in what they experience.— Just as psychanalysis everywhere unites to primitive life-factors and intentionally broadens and in a certain degree completes them, so it also does here. It takes up this more indefinite effort to interpret the world experience and makes thereof a methodical, fully conscious symbol-research. Whither our co-operation towards the attainment of the goal will lead, no one can now prophecy; but if it serves any good purpose it must be carried far beyond the boundaries Freud has staked out.

The greatest fault with Freud is that he has squeezed even the interpretation of symbols into his sexual doctrine.

In the solitary dream-symbol, all of that life which in the waking state, we spread out over space and time, seems pressed together into a single picture. This picture gives a synopsis of the situation in which for the moment, we find ourselves;—in interpretating the picture we must take into consideration all those factors which play a part in it. The newest branch in psychanalysis, that which has its cen-

ter in Zürich, and is represented by Jung, Maeder, Riklin and others are striving after just this. It is to the merit of Adler that we have left behind Freud's sexual doctrine; it is the effort of this branch to overcome Adler's one-sidedness also.

I have said in connection with the "rational" method of treatment that every persuasion must always be brought out of the patient's own psyche. The same thing holds good where it is a question of finding the true clue for interpertation. And it is in this case even more momentous, inasmuch as it has to do with deeper things. Psychanalysis aims not only at the interpretation of single dream-symbols or single neurotic symptoms; it endeavors as its final aim, to set forth the right interpretation of all those forces which wrestle within the patient—to show him what, in his inmost heart, he most ardently yearns for. It tries in this way to reunite him with reality and it appears thereby not only as the central point in psychotherapeutics; it reveals its indissolvable connection with the most essential aim of all cultural progress.

* * *

It seems to me that the future of psychotherapy mainly depends upon certain inner qualifications. It means a self-perfection that is realized in the degree one finds what is most essential in the various cur-

rents and leads these to flow harmoniously together. All trifling arguments must be overcome. Only such an inner development can give the movement enough strength to break the external opposition.

This can be found, and this must be found.

The medical corps itself as a rule, still meets the effort to construct a new branch of therapeutics with a blending of the indifference with which the very earliest attempts in the same direction were met and the attempt towards annihilation with which Freud is constantly beset. This does not at all imply that there are not many members of that corps who suffer because of the powerlessness of physical therapeutic measures against neurosis, and who with interest grasp each new possibility, including those coming from this direction. But strangely enough this interest is met with least among those who ought to be most interested, that is to say, among neurologists and alienists. The official position which these adopt towards psychanalysis is everywhere evident, and this is partly because they are as strongly entrenched in material phenomena as their colleagues, partly because they especially have to do with such forms of mental and nervous disease that treatment of any sort is unavailing.

While the attitude of the profession towards psychotherapy is of great importance, nevertheless everything does not hinge upon it. We must not forget that many different elements enter into this sub-

ject, which as a matter of fact lie outside the boundary lines of traditional medicine. Psychotherapy tries in its sphere of activity to gather together and perfect life-factors which hitherto have belonged elsewhere. It is more important therefore what stand people in general take regarding it than what view a limited professional circle adopts.

In raising one's self in opposition to psychotherapy one overlooks all too easily that its fundamental factors—suggestion, analysis, symbol-interpretation, etc.,—already exist as actual forces in the consciousness. And not only do they so exist but they push a way out with demand for realization, which in course of time cannot be repressed. Modern life with its rude objectivity, has of necessity dragged with it not only a belittling of the inner intimate existence, but also a brutalizing of all that care of the soul-life which in former times went before everything else. Psychotherapy is trying in new ways and under new forms to recommend cures for the evils of the times and in this way to fulfill one of its most grave demands. Present-day people who feel their souls stifled in this world, which more and more is stamped by mechanical technique, yearn for what really lives and moves, feeling but one thing necessary, namely: the care of that which has awakened and wishes to grow in the unfathomable depths of the mind.

. . . It is to the call for the cure of souls in

the highest sense, that the psychotherapist seeks to find an answer. Even if the search towards it thus far has its great defects—that is no reason why the work should not be carried on. Those who toil in this direction should take into consideration that at the same time they try to destroy the longing which the answer means.

But—it must be conceded—psychotherapy among the general public meets with no such violent opposition as a new movement does meet with customarily. This is chiefly because it is, in the whole of its nature, so little aggressive. As it has to do with the improvement of the single individual, so also in a broad view it has to do with a positive purpose; the creating of something that is not, instead of the demolishing of something already extant.

There is perhaps really only one thing, that psychotherapy must turn itself against. And that is against every tendency to preserve worn-out forms of the religious life.

The analysis of consciousness has beyond measure made clear the apodictic power of the past. Each effort to preserve something which no longer has living force—which does not harmonize with all our ways of thinking and feeling—which does not move our hearts and bear us on towards clearer understanding;—every such effort is a power that fetters the mind and drives the mind so fettered, down towards destruction.

I come again here to the same idea with which I began.

Psychotherapy must not only endeavor to make free the soul-life and to guard it from all primitive conceptions that still live in modern layers of the old religious systems; it must try to drive this effort, which has been going on for centuries, towards a definite goal. It is unnecessary to point out that while this implies a freeing of the deepest, noblest forces in human nature, it also implies a liberating of all that for which humanity has yearned when it sought the divine.

The struggle against spiritual death, the strife after purity, clearness of vision, freedom, these will always remain psychotherapy's alpha and omega, let it assume what temporary forms it may, in different times and in various hands.

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